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THE FALSE AND THE SUBJECTIVE

The thesis elaborated in the present paper is that the consciousness of the false and the consciousness of the subjective imply one another. It may be analysed into two propositions (1) that the consciousness of the false is consciousness of the subjective and (2) that the consciousness of the subjective is consciousness of the false. The first denies that the false is but the objective fact of non-existence and the second denies that the subjective can be known without belief or disbelief in its content—which is apparently the theory behind what is called psychological introspection. The further implications of the thesis would be that the object is through the self-alienation of the subject and that the subject is not known except by a denial of the object. These implications are not discussed in this paper.

(1) *Consciousness of the False is Consciousness of the Subjective.*

The proposition may be thus developed :

The consciousness of the false is consciousness of a content that is not speakable except as the content of a belief which again is not speakable except as that the content of which is false.

The false is what is corrected or disbelieved. Properly disbelief should mean correction or rejection of what was believed,

* Read before the Calcutta Philosophical Society on the 4th August, 1932.

though the word is sometimes used loosely to mean rejection of what is suggested or the mere absence of belief in the imaginary or the contradictory. To be conscious of a content as imaginary or contradictory is to have no belief in it. Disbelief is a positive mode of consciousness and is not merely the privation of belief. The so-called disbelief in a suggestion is really a belief. A content is suggested as what either is or is not and never, as will appear, without all reference to fact ; and the rejection of it means that the negative alternative is accepted or believed. We take disbelief then in the sense of correction which we hold is incapable of being regarded as equivalent to a *belief* in negation.

Correction of error means disbelief not merely in what was believed but in what we are explicitly conscious of having believed. The content said to be disbelieved cannot in fact be expressed except as what was believed. What is it that we are said to disbelieve ? If we start with the belief 'this is A'—all belief in the last resort is in a *this* or given reality—and then correct it, what is it that we take to be false? What we disbelieve may be taken to be what we believed. In the belief or judgment 'this is A,' how should the content believed be formulated? Is the correct formulation of it 'this *is* A' or 'this *being* A' or 'this *as* A'? If we accept the first two formulations, there is no difficulty in accepting them also as the formulations of what we disbelieve. If however the believed content be taken to be 'this as A,' what we disbelieve cannot be said to be also 'this as A,' for the word *this*, when used as the principal word in a verbal combination, can mean only what is believed and never what is disbelieved.

We contend that the first two formulations of the content of belief are inadmissible. The judgment-form 'this is A' in which the principal word is the copula stands neither for the fact believed nor for the believing act but for an undifferentiated or confused unity of the two. There is nothing in believed fact or in the believing act—each taken singly—answering to

the distinction between 'this A' and 'this is A,' *i.e.* to the copula, the meaning of which nevertheless has to be understood in reference to the fact and the act. The content of belief cannot therefore be formulated as 'this *is* A.' Nor should it be expressed as 'this *being* A'—what is nowadays called *proposition* as distinct from judgment. In 'this being A,' the principal word is *being* which means here a relation in a wide sense of the term between *this* and A. What is believed however is not the relation but the concrete fact *this* as related to A. It is briefly expressed as 'this as A' [1] in which the principal word is *this* standing for the substantive fact. It is this fact as characterised by A and not the characterising relation that is properly said to be believed.

The content of belief is formulated loosely as 'this is A' and artificially as 'this being A,' the natural expression of it being 'this as A.' The content of the corresponding disbelief—meaning *what* is disbelieved—cannot be expressed in this form. It cannot in fact be expressed in any form except problematically as '*what* was believed,' the *what* being unspecifiable at the time of the disbelief in purely objective terms. We cannot then even say that what *was* believed is 'this as A,' for the word *this* would mean content of a *present* belief.

Disbelief or correction then as necessarily involving the consciousness of something subjective, *viz.*, the previous belief has to be taken as a form of reflective consciousness. To be conscious of the false as such is to be conscious of the subjective. Not that the consciousness of the false is a belief in the prior belief as a definite subjective fact. Disbelief indeed is a conscious reference to the prior belief but the prior belief can be spoken of at the time of disbelief *only in reference to the disbelief*. Although the previous belief is not disbelieved, it is not *now* specifiable by its content, for the content is specifiable only by reference to it. The belief can be specified only as that the content of which is false or is now disbelieved. The content cannot be spoken of without reference to the belief and the belief

[1] In more complex cases, the content may have to be expressed as 'this A as related to B.'

cannot now be characterised without reference to the present disbelief. Disbelief is not a cognitive belief in the prior belief but a consciousness of it in necessary reference to itself.

It is difficult to define cognitive consciousness but it may be characterised as the consciousness of something which is speakable without reference to the consciousness. Will-consciousness for example is distinguishable from it by the circumstance that it implies a belief in something that cannot be formulated without reference to the willing. To will an action is to be conscious of the action not as merely going to happen but as going to happen *through the willing*. What we believe here may be called the content of the willing but the content, if literally expressible at all, is expressible *not* in the form 'this action is coming' but in the form 'this action is coming through me, through the causality of my willing.' Now the belief of which we are necessarily conscious in disbelief is such that the content of it cannot be spoken of without reference to the belief and is accordingly to be regarded as a non-cognitive belief. The disbelief also, the content of which is the content of the belief which is speakable only in reference to the disbelief, is a form of non-cognitive consciousness.

(2) *Consciousness of the Subjective is Consciousness of the False.*

The proposition may be split up into two propositions: (*a*) that the consciousness of a belief implies disbelief in its content and (*b*) that all consciousness of the subjective implies consciousness of a belief. Both would appear paradoxical, if not obviously false.

(*a*) The first proposition may be thus elaborated:

The consciousness of a belief is consciousness of *having* the belief *as past* for present rejection or re-affirmation, the re-affirmation implying rejection.

The statement may be hazarded that the consciousness of a past belief is either belief or disbelief in its content and never a non-committal consciousness of the content as merely subsistent.

We may be conscious of the content of a past belief without being conscious of the belief itself. Such consciousness need not be actual belief or disbelief: it may be only an idea or suggestion.[1] If however we are conscious of the belief as a subjective fact, our consciousness of its content is always a judgement that it is or is not a fact.

Strictly speaking, the consciousness of a past belief, as of any subjective fact, is not memory but whether it is called memory or not, it differs from the memory of an objective fact in an important respect. To be conscious of a subjective state is to *be* in a subjective state referring to the content of the primary state, of which the consciousness of the primary state is a transitive fringe or function. The consciousness of the subjective is not like the consciousness of an object, a substantive conscious state subsisting by itself.

To be conscious of a subjective fact like belief is to have a present dealing with the content of the belief in the way of rejection or re-affirmation. Either way, it implies *having* the belief. How can we be said to have the belief when it is rejected? When we disbelieve the content of a belief, we understand the content, as already explained, not by itself but *as* what we believed. We are thus conscious of the belief as past but as the belief is now understood *only* as rejected, we may say that to reject it is to *have* it now in the mind *as past*. *As past* means *as rejected*: the consciousness of the pastness of the belief is but the consciousness of the belief being rejected.

To reject a belief is to have the belief as rejected. It is to be aware of a dissociation of the content of the belief from fact. Again to re-affirm a belief is not only to continue believing in its content but to be conscious that the content might not be fact. It also implies the dissociation of the content from facthood. To be conscious of a belief then is in all cases to be conscious of such a dissociation. When the belief of which we are conscious

[1] The consciousness of a content without all reference to fact is not even an idea which has a problematic reference to fact. See p. 8.

is the belief of another mind expressed through speech, we are conscious of the content of the belief being dissociated from our own belief in the very act of understanding the speech. To understand a person's assertion may be primarily to believe the content asserted but it is also *from the very start* to be aware that the content might not be fact.[1] When however we are conscious of our own belief, we are conscious of the dissociation of the content from fact *only through positive disbelief*.

We are explicitly conscious of a subjective fact like belief when we distinguish its content from it and we distinguish it only as we disbelieve it. The dissociation of the content of a belief from its facthood in the re-affirmation of the belief implies that re-affirmation is really the rejection of disbelief. To know a belief to be true is to reject a disbelief in its content that is already emergent. Just as the rejection of a belief implies having the belief as past, so the rejection of a disbelief means having the disbelief as past. To be conscious of a past belief as true is also to have the consciousness of its being false. In all cases then in which we are explicitly conscious of a past belief, we have a disbelief in the content of it.

It may be said that to be conscious that the content of a belief might not be fact, it is not necessary that it should be disbelieved. It may be simply doubted or there may be only a question in the mind, a desire for information as to whether the content is existent or non-existent. But a question of this kind does not imply consciousness of the *belief*: it implies only the consciousness of its content as possibly existent or possibly non-existent and does not accordingly involve a dissociation of the content from *fact*. Existence and non-existence both come under believed content or fact. Doubt indeed—as distinct from such question—involves a dissociation of the content from fact, being the consciousness of the content as either fact or no fact (where 'no fact' means ' not even the fact of non-existence'). It is the

[1] The content however is not here dissociated from the asserting act.

consciousness of an alternation not of two beliefs but of belief and disbelief, of a belief as past and the disbelief in its content, both being present in the mind. Doubt cannot indeed be said to be *both* belief and disbelief but it cannot be *denied* to be either. Where then the content of a belief is doubted, it cannot be said to be not disbelieved.

We may accordingly hold that we are conscious of a belief as past only when we have a disbelief in its content. To be conscious of the subjective fact of belief is to be conscious of its content as false.

(*b*) We now come to the other proposition that all consciousness of the subjective is consciousness of a belief. It may be thus paraphrased :

There is no consciousness of a subjectivity that is not consciousness of a content referred to fact.

What is not the consciousness of a content is not the content of introspection, though it may be subjective fact. Again there may be the consciousness of a content without any reference to fact and this also cannot be said to be the content of introspection. What we are reflectively conscious of is the consciousness of an actual or possible fact, of a content as what is or may eb believed. The consciousness of a content as what may be believed is still an actual consciousness of belief.

Some explanations are necessary. Introspection should be taken as at once *meaning* the distinguishing of a mode of consciousness from its content. To be conscious of a mode of consciousness is to be conscious also of the content of the mode; and to be conscious of the mode and the content together is to distinguish them. Not that it can be said to be the consciousness of their distinction *as a content*; the distinction cannot be regarded as an actual content that is either objective or subjective. The distinguishing here is not the consciousness *of* distinction and the consciousness of the subjective is but the distinguishing

of the subjective from its content. Introspection accordingly cannot be literally said to be the consciousness *of* a subjective content, though the form of expression is unavoidable. If it were the consciousness of a content, there would be introspective consciousness of introspection and therefore introspective consciousness of this consciousness and so on *ad infinitum*.

The subjective is not definable as the content of introspection. Introspection is itself a subjectivity and we speak of it with belief, though we have no consciousness *of* it. A subjectivity then of which we are not conscious may not be denied and may be significantly spoken of. One example of it is the so-called consciousness of a content without a believing or disbelieving reference to fact. To be conscious of a content without reference to fact is to be conscious of it *as* without reference, as with the referring consciousness suspended. The so-called consciousness of the bare content is the suspending act which is the consciousness of the referring consciousness and not of the content only. If to introspect be to distinguish consciousness from its content, a content without reference to fact being incapable of being distinguished from, there can be no introspection into the consciousness of such a content. The consciousness of a content without intentional reference is a non-relational *acquaintance* with the content.

To the definition of introspection as the distinguishing of a subjectivity from its content, it may be objected that it would exclude introspection into perception and into all consciousness on the perceptual level. The very character of perceptual consciousness is that it is not immediately distinguishable from the object perceived and yet we seem to be obviously aware of such consciousness as when we say 'I see the table.' Nor does this awareness of perceiving the table imply any disbelief in the table, as would be demanded by our theory. Such awareness of perception however is not introspection but only a significant speaking of it. Just as there is no introspection into introspection though we may speak of introspection, so the fact that we

speak of seeing the table does not imply that we are introspectively conscious of the seeing. We have no direct enjoying consciousness of the seeing operation—as distinct from the organic-muscular experience of using our eyes—being performed by us. Much of what we call introspection appears to be only a speaking or naming of a subjectivity. All introspection may imply a naming of the subjective but all naming of it is not introspection.

We have no consciousness then of a subjectivity that is not consciousness of a content with intentional reference. Intentional reference is a believing or disbelieving reference and disbelieving reference involves a believing reference. Thus if we are conscious of the subjective, we are conscious of a belief.

The consciousness of a belief has been shown to involve disbelief in its content. As to be conscious of any subjective fact is to be conscious of a belief, all reflective consciousness may be said to involve disbelief in the content of the corresponding unreflective consciousness. Thus the consciousness of the false is the consciousness of the subjective and *vice versa*. We are necessarily aware of the false and the subjective together.

KRISHNA CHANDRA BHATTACHARYYA

THE HUMAN INTEREST IN THE TREATMENT OF THE SUPERNATURAL

In the intuitions from which the creative impulse of poetry springs, there seems to be something strangely primitive that falls readily to the lure of the supernatural. Different types and modes of supernaturalism flourish in poetry in different cultural and literary epochs, and it is a study of fascinating interest how these differences arise through the forces of culture-history, modifying men's outlook on Nature and human life and changing the character of the poet's art in dealing with the supernatural world.

The supernaturalism of English romantic poetry is a significant case in point. It is usually related by literary historians, somewhat indiscriminately, to the so-called 'mediaeval revival.' But the supernaturalism of old romance and that of English romantic poetry belong really to two different spheres. In fact, the very notion of aesthetic or literary revival is contrary to our modern sense of evolutionary history. The state of intellectual or spiritual consciousness can never be the same in two ages, and there is something inherently improbable in the idea that at the beginning of the last century the aesthetic spirit took a sudden leap across the gulf of eighteenth-century rationalism and brought back into English poetry the charm of mediaeval romance. The 'indispensable eighteenth century' cannot be scrapped nor can the long cultural distance between the Middle Ages and the modern ignored.

The supernatural strain in English romantic poetry harks back undoubtedly to the mediaeval tradition. But it is decidedly not the same strain,—not the mere marvel and wonderment of things and happenings transcending Nature, of the magic ring, the wonder-voyage, the bloody apparition, the mysterious

adventure with creatures unknown to natural history. The frankly objective presentment of the supernatural yields place to a subtler and more effective treatment of it.

A typical and characteristic poem, dealing with the supernatural, in romantic poetry, from Coleridge's *Ancient Mariner* to Hood's *Dream of Eugene Aram*, will be found to embody a tale of strange and shadowy experiences undergone by an abnormally circumstanced individual, the central interest in which is shifted from the wonder of the mere supernatural occurrences to the psychological bearings, the inward connections of the incidents with a mind that experiences and is affected by them. The psychological interest in romantic supernaturalism is not something casual or extrinsic, but it arises inevitably from the mode of setting forth the supernatural as part of individual experience.

When Coleridge in his somewhat hasty retort to Mrs. Barbauld compared the *Ancient Mariner* with one of the Arabian Nights' Tales and insisted that the poem should have had no moral at all, he betrayed a lapse, so rare on his part, from his usual critical acumen. The supernaturalism of Coleridge's poem is of a type essentially different from that of the Arabian Nights. It is not a mere tale of terror and wonder, and if the moral idea issues out of its psychological implications, it is neither irrelevant nor artistically unsound. The controversy about the moral of the poem, started by the poet himself, would be hopelessly barren, if it did not point to one prominent and distinguishing characteristic of the treatment of the supernatural by the romantic poets, *viz.*, its note of humanity.

The romantic poet's conception of the supernatural, even apart from the treatment, has a fundamental difference from that of the earlier poets on one hand and of the later 'Celtic Revivalists' on the other. The former were pre-occupied with the awe and wonder of the supernatural, while the latter with its mystical allurements, its far-off beckoning beauty. In the hands of the Celtic poets, the supernatural becomes a sort of

coloured vapour changing ever to the variations of the aesthetic temper and feeling, but never settling down on the realities of human life. Unreality of the supernatural becomes with them a studied unrealism, with nothing more substantial to hold on to than ghostly landscapes, fairy life and strange traffickings between the earth and regions unearthly. The imagination seems to drift vaguely beyond all moorings and soundings in human life as we find in Yeats's early Celtic-mythological poem on *The Wanderings of Usheen*. But the romantic poet, with his pre-occupation with humanity, articulates the supernatural to the realities of life in the sphere of spiritual or psychological experience. Hence we have a feeling of soundness and certainty, the sense that the poet, however far his imagination may travel, will come back at last like Coleridge's mariner to familiar moorings. But this distinctive human interest, arising perhaps from that inherent and pervasive quality of English romantic poetry which Matthew Arnold, its champion and interpreter, made a test and touch-stone of *all* poetry and formulated as 'the criticism of life,' has a subtle artistic effect on the treatment of the supernatural which is best exemplified by the conclusion of the *Ancient Mariner*.

The resurgence of the natural human interest at the end of the poem has the effect of throwing the whole series of supernatural occurrences, from the appearance of the spectre-bark to the departure of the seraph-men, in a strange retrospect. We are landed at a point of vantage as it were, from which the supernatural experiences may be viewed apart, and they show themselves, seen thus from at a distance, strangely evanescent and illusory. A mist, a dream-like dubiety, seems te swallow them up.

In one of the supernatural stories of Rabindra Nath Tagore, a device is employed for the same artistic effect. The story describes the wonderful experiences of a man in a lonely and deserted palace of pleasure, built two centuries and a half ago in the sumptuous Mughal days of yore. It had seen within its

walls the splendid lusts and cruelties of the imperial *harem* and now 'the curse of all the heart-aches and blasted hopes made its every stone thirsty and hungry, eager to swallow up like a famished ogress any living man who might chance to approach.' At night this deserted palace becomes alive with the ghosts of long-dead Mughal revelries—ghostly laughters of bejewelled maidens, tinklings of anklets on viewless feet, unearthly music of guitars struck by invisible hands. The man comes completely under the exquisite supernatural spell and the haunted palace seems like 'a living organism digesting him by the action of some stupefying gastric juice.' 'The intangible, inaccessible, unearthly vision' appears to him to be the only reality in the world—and all else a mere dream. But the vision comes only of nights when the spell thickens, but with morning it is snapped. This is how the snapping of the spell is described: "I saw that day had dawned, and Meher Ali was going round and round the palace with his usual cry (*i.e.*, Stand back! Stand back All is false!) in that dreadful weather. Suddenly it occurred to me that perhaps he also had once lived in that house, and that, though he had gone mad, he came there every day, and went round and round, fascinated by the weird spell cast by the marble demon.

"Despite the storm and rain, I ran to him and asked: 'Eh Meher Ali, what is false?'

"The man answered nothing, but pushing me aside went round and round with his frantic cry, like a bird flying about the jaws of a snake, and made a desperate effort to warn himself by repeating: 'Stand back! Stand back! All is false! All is false!!'"

Here we have a device, brought *ex machina*, to restore the mind to a point from which the falsity of the supernatural experience may appear in retrospect. But Coleridge achieves the same artistic effect, without the aid of any extrinsic device, by simply bringing the mariner at the end out of the spell in which he seems visibly to re-involve himself in reviewing his

weird experiences, as indicated by the wedding-guest's startled exclamation : ' I fear thee, ancient mariner ! ' We perceive the return to his normal self and the final re-emergence of natural human interest in the mariner's weary words :

" O, wedding-guest ! this soul hath been
Alone on a wide, wide sea :
So lonely 'twas, that God himself
Scarce seemed there to be.

O sweeter than the marriage-feast,
'Tis sweeter far to me,
To walk together to the kirk
With a goodly company ! "

And then it seems that all his strange experiences on the weird voyage become vague, unreal and illusory to him and he can pick out of them only one suggestion that comes home to his normal, natural self, now chastened and humanised,—the simple moral :

" He prayeth well who loveth well
Both man and bird and beast."

The simple humanity and every-dayness of the moral, appearing so curiously inadequate if regarded as a summary expression of the effect of the whole, coming at the end of the poem, has this effect that it makes all the supernatural incidents seem misty and uncertain. The mariner had shot the albatross and he underwent terrible experiences in consequence. But if the experiences came only to enforce the moral truth on his mind, one may well wonder if they were real happenings at all and not the projections of a distorted mind, the painful prolongation of ' the spot upon the brain which will show itself without.' Thus the human interest, carrying, ' the truth of emotions ' and ' interesting the affections,' which arises so naturally out of the romantic poet's characteristic manner of setting forth the supernatural in the form of a human experience, becomes also a matter of subtle art, deepening the mystery and refining the appearance of the supernatural.

The importance and significance, as regards artistic effect, of the introduction of the human interest or the 'natural' element is felt at once by considering by way of comparison the type of supernatural poetry from which it is deliberately excluded. We become conscious at once of an impoverishing loss of subtlety and complexity, although other qualities may be evolved.

One of the earliest of such poems during the romantic period is Hogg's *Kilmeny*. The poem is suffused with that elfin Celtic unrealism, centring in a mysterious hide-and-seek between the earth and 'the land of faery,'—the motive of the old legends of Tamlane in ballad and romance,—with which the so-called Celtic revivalists make such exquisitely imaginative play. But the theme turns on a single note incapable of indefinite artistic variations, *viz.*, the mystery of the fairy world. Hood's *Elm Tree* carries on through its indistinct and grotesque dream-like imagery a low suggestive monotone in which the forest's hidden pulse of life comes throbbing up and sinks dying down,—

> 'Sometimes murmurs overhead,
> And sometimes underground,'

making us feel that the trees are no 'senseless things of wood'

> "But conscious, moving, breathing trunks
> That throb with human blood!"

But the feeling evoked rests in a purely artistic sensation and is uninformed with the deep convincing power with which the same theme is treated in a different and more 'humanised' spirit by Wordsworth in the poem on *Nutting*. Coming to later poetry, Rossetti's *Eden Bower* or *Sister Helen*, in which a deeper note of human passion is struck, we find no such 'soul-lore,' as characterises the Coleridgean treatment of the supernatural, but only the vibrations, running in crescendo through the whole gamut, of one terrible overmastering passion, cruel revenge born of blind jealousy, hardly admitting of any by-play or interplay of other feelings and emotions. In recent English poetry, Walter

de la Mare's *The Listeners* is one of the most finely imaginative of supernatural poems. It presents a deserted ruined house in a desolate moon-lit spot, which ghosts have made their dwelling and into which a lonely lost human voice suddenly penetrates, deepening the weirdness of the listening silence of voiceless phantoms, startled by 'that voice from the world of men.' The most striking feature of the poem is the absolute break of contact with life and reality,—a syncope as it were of all human thought or feeling. In such poems in which supernaturalism is deliberately detached from contact with human realities, the suggestive and imaginative qualities may be extremely exquisite, but they still appear thin and bloodless by the side of romantic supernatural poetry, so rich in its psychological complexity and so profound in its significance in relation to human life. Oman, bringing his survey of 'Romantic Triumph' to a close, asserts that "more than aught else, perhaps, the Romantic Movement stood for humanity in its widest sense, made man as man the theme of central interest." This perhaps is true, not only with regard to what has been called 'romantic naturalism,' but with regard to romantic supernaturalism as well.

SUKUMAR DUTT

IMMORAL TRAFFIC IN CALCUTTA AND ITS SUPPRESSION

Immoral traffickers are usually women living in mercenary immorality. The Law embodied in the Calcutta Suppression of Immoral Traffic Act (B. C. XIII of 1923) and the Bengal Children Act (B. C. II of 1922) is intended for the rescue of girls under 16 from immoral surroundings and their being placed in suitable custody legally prescribed until they are 18 years of age. The operation of the law is practically confined to those calling themselves Hindus, the traffickers being exclusively women. Male traffickers are mostly Europeans importing adult women from South-Eastern Europe and settling them at Karaya. Their habitations are usually houses leased out to male persons to render the realization of the rent legal by concealing the immoral purposes of the lease. The greater part of the rent for the term of the lease has to be paid in advance for the landlord's security. Anglo-Indian minor girls are usually not on the market of immorality. Only one instance is known of an Anglo-Indian father leading his girl child into the path of sin.

Non-Hindu women of this class can easily enter into respectability by marriage or other forms of changed life. Many pious Musalmans take it as a virtue to save the woman from sin by marrying her. Musalmans are allowed to practise polygamy, and those who can afford it segregate their wives. Others find it an economic advantage to marry a woman of this class without liability for dowry or *Kabin* on divorce and cases are not unknown of a Musalman woman living alternately as a married wife and as a woman of the town. Hindu women unprotected and without means are occasionally found to become Musalmans for the sake of livelihood. Musalman Nautch girls known as Baiwallis are literate and trained singers and dancers. Girls

under 16 can very rarely enter into such occupation. During the period of operation of the Law referred to only one case came into Court of a Musalman girl placed for training under a Baiwalli leading an immoral life. Instances are not rare of Musalman gentlemen marrying Jewish women of this class or their daughters.

In Hindu community the position is quite different. Debadasis or immoral temple women are unknown in Bengal proper. Puri and Gauhati are the nearest places where this practice prevails. Generally Hindu women of this class form a caste by birth or adoption. It is to be remembered that the caste of Vaisnavas in Bengal proper and of Bairagis in Chattisgarh can be adopted by Hindus of all castes. In Calcutta a Brahman was known to have adopted the Methar caste. Hindu women of this class whether by birth or adoption accept their social or extra-social position as the fruit or outcome of sins committed in past incarnations to be expiated by calmly bearing their social degradation. Their post-mortem welfare depends on pupilage of a particular class of Brahman, by acts of charity, visiting places of pilgrimages specially Brindaban and Navadwip, bathing in the Ganges, building temples and other similar acts esteemed as pious. Orthodox Hindu society make it the exclusive privilege of this class of women to sing and dance before Thakurs or sacred images on festive occasions and singing hymns at ceremonies ending periods of mourning. Many well-known women of this class are known to have retired to Navadwip and devoted their lives to acts of piety such as are open to them under prevalent usages.

Hindu women of this class specially in Calcutta, as moral justification for the life they lead, go through the ceremony of mock marriage. It will be useful to subjoin a few extracts from a paper dealing with Mock Marriage.

"In one form of such marriage the bridegroom is a degraded or pretended Brahman who goes through the form of marriage observed among the higher castes, for the usual fee of

Rs. 5 and a nether garment, called *dhuti*, and an upper one called *chādar*. He never sees his bride after the ceremony is concluded and departs with silent, if not express, consent to his bride's subsequent career of sin and shame in the world's eyes."

"A girl is initiated into the profession by marriage with a god. In the case of an idol, already established for public worship, the ceremony is quite simple. It consists in the officiating priest's placing vermilion powder on the parting of the girl's hair just above the forehead from a receptacle previously placed on the idol's foot. A fee is paid to the priest for the service. If the idol be a private one the regular ceremony is performed, the priest uttering on the idol's behalf the *mantras* or formulæ prescribed by the Shastric ritual on the part of the bridegroom. In this latter form, upon accidental destruction of the idol, the surviving wife has to abandon all marks of wifehood, the vermilion is rubbed out and the left wrist bared of the iron wristlet. In all other respects her life continues its even course. In the other form where the idol is public the risk of widowhood is removed."

" The ceremonies described are evidently intended to preserve the religious purity of the whole sphere of prostitution. The consent of the human or the silence of the inanimate husband justifies the action of the prostitute and her patrons. The husband-god dwells in every male heart as its ruler. Marriage with him is marriage with every man. Thus prostitution is taken as a bringer of sanctification and not sin into the world. Earth, scooped out of a brothel, has its use in some forms of religion, the prostitute being apparently regarded as a social protective against male propensity for evil."

The only Western Institution that has any resemblance to the Hindu prostitute caste is the Turf Club. Race gambling like all other forms of gambling is not recognised by Law, but Turf Club helps the gambler who wins to realise his claim against the loser. The defaulter is excluded from further gambling.

Judges who cannot recognise race gambling in Court administer Turf Clubs as individuals. Christian charities close their hands against Turf Club gifts which civic charities receive with gratitude.

Is it difficult to understand that in existing circumstances removal by Law of a child from her natural or adoptive mother of the class mentioned should be resented by her as unjust interference with her religion and resisted by expensive litigation ? Costs of litigation are often met out of refreshment allowances or *Jalpani* received by such mothers from men desirous of securing immature girls for immoral purposes on attainment of maturity. As a matter of fact during the whole period of operation of the related Law, about a hundred girls have been rescued while the number of such girls in training for immoral life in Calcutta cannot fall far short of a thousand or two. Smallness of child-birth among women of this class may have a scientific explanation. But there is no doubt that it is an incentive for adoption of infant girls, either foundlings or willingly parted with by their mothers and relatives and even small girls friendless or unprotected. Women, not *declasse*, to hide their shame, in social obscurity give birth to children in some Calcutta Hospital or in holy places like Navadwip, Benares or Brindaban. Male children are disposed of by small payments to Methars or Muddaforashes who assist in cremation ceremonies and sometimes they find protection in Christian foundling institutions, but a girl child is sought after most eagerly and earnestly by women of the town. There is another source of recruitment in Birbhum, Bankura and Midnapore, comparatively poorer Districts of Bengal. A considerable portion of the inhabitants of these Districts have usually to purchase brides. The price is said to be Rs. 100 for every year of the prospective bride's age. Most of the men desirous of marriage are labourers or hand-workers or of a slightly superior class. It takes them many years to lay by the necessary price for their brides who are therefore very often left child widows. Women of the class referred to, of sufficient means,

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take them in adoption even, on payment of small sums to their relatives or protectors. One such child widow rescued from machination of her husband's mistress to sell her into immorality is now being trained by the Society for the Protection of Children in India, and another helped by that Society on attainment of majority is now a married Christian wife. A girl rescued under the Law and placed in the custody of the Baptist Mission in Calcutta is now in training to be a mistress of some Government girls' school and she has, under the auspices of the Y. W. C. A., obtained a gold medal for singing and is now a Christian by religion. Of the girls in the custody of the Calcutta Vigilance Association two are happily married and another is earning her livelihood by honest work.

Will it be wrong to appeal to all charitable hearts to help the girls now in the legal custody of the Calcutta Vigilance Association to earn honestly their livelihood when the time arrives for their discharge ? There are sad cases of such discharged girls going astray which need not be mentioned here.

MOHINI MOHAN CHATTERJI

GS 1462

PRELUDE

It is not fantasy can stay
The soul's deep hunger, or delay
The disillusion of the heart:
Send us, O Muse, a sterner art,
For beauty is no dreamful thing,
But vigorous and inspiriting.

The poets in their pilgrimage
Seek only this from age to age:
A moment's term to restlessness,
A pause in life's familiar stress;
And beauty, snared for one swift hour,
Is that day's peace, is that day's power.

It is not fantasy will give
Such pauses, being too fugitive;
And never yet a dream alone
Has set a man on any throne
Of truth, or taught him to deny
Death's mocking scandal and old lie.

Send therefore, Muse a sterner song
To us who to thy sect belong,
Lest men amid their labouring
Should deem the lyre a moonstruck thing,
And not the mighty voice that sweeps
With galloping beauty heights and deeps!

WALLACE B. NICHOLS

SOME EDUCATIONAL EXPERIMENTS IN THE PUNJAB

The educational progress made by the Punjab in recent years has brought that province into some lime-light. That the fame is based on facts and not on mere propaganda is evident from the following figures showing the increase in enrolment between 1917 and 1927 :—

Province.	Percentage of increase between 1917-27.
Punjab	120
Madras	58
U.P.	58
Bihar	40
Bombay	35
Bengal	22
Assam	15
C.P.	7

Though efficient departmental organization has been largely responsible for this success, it is a mistake to ignore other factors which are quite effective.

1. *The Factors that help.*

First and foremost there is the temperament of the people, shaped by geographical and historical influences. Continuous invasions from outside kept the Punjab free from hereditary aristocracies and the typical Indian conservatism. The society remained tribal and did not allow the conservative forces to gather strength and create that die-hard mentality which worships the past, hates the present and ignores the future. Nowhere in India is the caste system so weak as it is in the

Punjab. The Punjab may therefore be called a *tabula rasa* on which the reformer can easily write anything new.

The second factor is the economic prosperity of the province. It is the second richest province in India, Bombay being the first. But more important than this is the fact that the wealth of the province is more evenly distributed than in any other province of India. The Punjab peasant is also the proprietor of the land which he cultivates. Hence he has a certain amount of self-respect and is entirely free from that serf mentality which is the characteristic of the peasant elsewhere in India.

The third factor is the "dash" of the Punjabi. He is found in every part of the world earning his livelihood through his own labour. Almost every British Colony and Dominion has a Punjabi settlement. As early as 1901 there were 25,000 Punjabis in Uganda. If any Indian deserves the epithet of 'practical' it is the Punjabi.

The Punjab peasant and his countryside have therefore more influence on the politics of the province than the town-dwellers and their urban activities. The Punjab to-day is governed in the interest of its 90 per cent. rural population and not its 10 per cent. town-dwellers.

2. *The Corner-stone of the Punjab Educational Policy.*

Vernacular education based on the most up-to-date lines and shaped according to the requirements of the villagers is therefore the goal of education in the Punjab. A net work of primary schools surrounded by middle vernacular schools and each primary school looking forward to being raised to middle standard—these are the main features of the Punjab educational policy. How vigorously this policy is being pushed forward is evident from the fact that in 1921-22 there were only 412 Lower Middle and 244 Upper Middle Schools while in 1928-29 there were as many as 2,221 Lower Middle and 595 Upper Middle Schools.

To cope with this increased work of vernacular education and to give it further impetus a separate Inspector of Vernacular Education was appointed. Fortunately the Punjab authorities recognized from the beginning the limitations of private enterprise under the existing Indian conditions and took upon themselves (through the District Boards) the main burden of vernacular education instead of leaving it to private bodies. The following table shows the relative position of various provinces in this connection :—

Province.	Percentage of Prim. Schools run by State.	Percentage of Schools by Private Bodies.
C.P.	90	10
Bombay	82	18
Punjab	81	19
U.P.	78	22
Madras	33	67
Bengal	20	80
Bihar	12	88

That this elimination of private enterprise in the Punjab has led to very satisfactory results can be seen from the following figures showing "leakage" [1] during the primary course :—

Province.	Percentage of State Schools.	Percentage of Private Schools.	Percentage of Leakage.
C.P.	90	10	54
Bombay	82	18	59
Punjab	81	19	74
U.P.	78	22	75
Madras	33	67	82
Bengal	20	80	86
Bihar	12	88	89

[1] "Leakage" means the number of boys who drop out in their upward journey from the first (primary) class to the fourth (primary) class.

The above figures show clearly that the "leakage" is highest where the percentage of State schools is lowest. Here is a fine lesson for those who run down State enterprise and praise private schools. The figures relating to Bengal and Bihar are particularly instructive.

3. *Normal Schools the Starting Point.*

But more important than the above is the re-orientation of vernacular education as regards its aims. The vernacular schools in the Punjab are not only to train the young but also to enlighten the old. Each of these schools, in short, is to become the centre of social and cultural activities of the rural area which it serves. The teachers in these schools are to be the "guide, friend and philosopher" of the peasant.

But this new policy could not be enforced with the old-fashioned teachers employed in the vernacular schools of the Punjab. Hence the present-day Normal Schools, full of life and activities and the centre of attraction for educationists from every part of India.

Community work is the slogan of these Normal Schools. The pupils, beside the usual instruction they receive in the art of teaching, are also taught the various ways of approach and appeal to the rustic mind—the work which is now popularly known as "Village Uplift," thanks to the activities of Mr. F. L. Brayne of the Gurgaon fame. The spirit underlying this new move can be best summed up in the following words :

"The inspecting staff turned its eyes from the boy at the desk to the boy in his environment ; and then to those dimly envisaged inhabitants of that environment, fathers and big brothers. No thinking man could see these without feeling deeply that the duty of an Education Department is to seek out those that sit in darkness and to give them light."

The teachers trained in the Normal Schools of the Punjab to-day are selected from amongst villagers and the spirit of the

"New Learning" consists in teaching the youth (1) through leadership, (2) through social services, and (3) through making the school a community centre.

The Normal school pupils divide themselves into groups, each under its own leader. They go to villages, lecture on sanitation and actually help the villagers in cleaning up their villages. They organize Melas, health exhibitions and other shows to attract the rustics. Popular propaganda songs are composed and sung in these Melas, processions for emphasizing one single idea are organized and marched through villages.

4. *The Project Method at Moga School.*

But the credit of introducing this new Normal school and reorganizing vernacular education does not belong to the Punjab Education Department. The inspiration came from the American Presbyterian Missionaries who started their famous school at Moga in the Hoshiarpur district of the Punjab. This school was and is really meant for Christian converts living in villages. It consists of a Normal class and a Rural Community Middle School teaching from the first to the eighth class, the first four classes serving as practising school for the Normal class. The purpose of the school is to prepare selected village boys for the leadership of their own communities and majority of them become teachers in village schools after finishing their education.

But it is not only in aims that this school differs from others. The methods of teaching are also different. It uses what is technically known as "Project Method." According to this method, instruction is focussed around typical problems which are actually encountered in life outside school. In the course of solving these problems or working out the projects, principles are discovered and learned. Topical instruction is given only a secondary place. The pupils are encouraged to seek actively the solution of the problem wherever the search may lead them, even

outside the confines of the school. In short, it means learning by doing.

The school has about 55 acres of land, 45 of which is under cultivation, with 3 wells, 2 silos, and stables for cattle. The staff consists of 3 missionaries, the Principal and his wife, the Vice-Principal, the Head Master, 3 teachers with Senior Vernacular teachers' certificates, four teachers trained at Moga, one trained agricultural teacher, a carpenter and a tailor who teach their profession and a woman teacher for the Woman's School.

There are about 150 students on the rolls of whom 55 are in the Normal class and the remainder in the Primary and Middle classes. Most of them come from extremely poor classes and the parents give almost nothing towards their education.

The Normal course which covers a year consists of the following subjects :—

1. Principles and practice of teaching.
2. Child psychology.
3. Hygiene and other such subjects.
4. Rural social problems.
5. Religious education.
6. Agriculture.
7. Village home industries.
8. Village school management.

Groups of Normal school pupils are taken out to villages to study and observe educational conditions and submit their reports to the class. Near the end of their training the entire class is taken into the heart of a mass movement district where they spend two weeks organizing and maintaining new schools, teaching in established schools, learning community work and carrying on their studies and class discussions on the basis of their experience.

A village teacher's journal is also published in Urdu and English. This journal is the clearing house of new ideas and methods which are successfully tried at Moga.

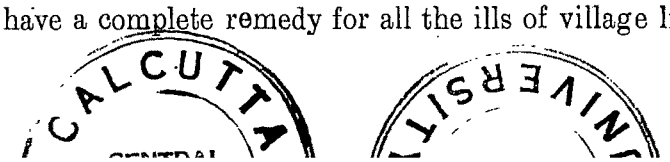
5. *The Famous Gurgaon Experiment.*

That the example set by the American missionaries at Moga has not been lost on the Punjab is evident from a similar experiment tried at Gurgaon by Mr. F. L. Brayne, the Deputy Commissioner, under the auspices of the District Board. Though the ideals are identical, Mr. Brayne's conception of his work is wider and he includes people of all communities and creeds, improvement in agriculture, village sanitation, and uplift of women being his principal aims.

"The object of a village school," says Mr. Brayne in his well-known book, "is to make better, more intelligent, healthier and happier villagers. If a ploughman's son comes to school, his schooling should so prepare him that when he comes to follow the trail of his father's plough he will pick up the work more quickly and display more intelligence in all his business than his father did. Above all, the children must learn at school how to lead healthy lives and protect themselves from epidemic diseases. What is the use of teaching boys who are going to go behind, become in some way physically incapacitated, or even to die before they reach manhood ? What is the use of education when the home is dirty, uncomfortable, and epidemics are liable to sweep away the whole family, or leave the children blind and maimed."

With this end in view he founded his well-known School of Rural Economy and the School of Domestic Economy at Gurgaon.

The aim of these schools is to supply the home training which is so common in Europe and which is so conspicuously absent in India. "The first object of the Gurgaon School of Rural Economy," says the founder, "is to teach the dignity of labour, as until the villager will put his hand to it he will never clean or improve his village. The next object is to instil the idea of service, the desire to help one's self and other people; and the third object is to convince them, by the actual instruction given, that we have a complete remedy for all the ills of village life."



The school consists of two sections: (1) a normal school of three units, and (2) a class of village guide candidates.

A farm of 51 acres taken on a long lease serves as an experimental farm. Four Persian wheels and a windmill have been fitted to the wells. Scouting and co-operation are the two basic subjects taught, as it is hoped that from these two the spirit of self-help, co-operation and social service can be instilled into the students.

The Normal class has to study all the subjects prescribed for the J. V. Teachers' Certificate Examination but in addition to that they go through the syllabus of the village guide class.

All the students have to visit villages and give lectures and do all the work in this connection by way of learning and practising their job. They themselves do all the chores to learn the dignity of labour and the necessity of personal effort. They stage uplift dramas in villages, "as this is the most convincing form of propaganda we have yet discovered."

The village course takes only a year to complete including the vacation. Students are selected for admission. Naib Tahsildar and Kanungo candidates, sons of agriculturists, ex-officers, ex-soldiers, Patwaris and Patwari candidates and teachers of village schools are given preference. Every student from Gurgaon district is given a stipend.

6. Rural Community Board and Councils.

Another important factor in the education of the masses is the Rural Community Board and its district branches known as District Community Councils, recently established. The idea has been borrowed from England. In 1920 various voluntary and statutary societies like the village clubs, associations, the Red Triangle Federation, Barnett House, etc., met together to think out better ways for doing their work, the uplift of the countryside. Their joint organization is now known as the Rural Community Council. The lead was given by Oxfordshire

but now many other countries have established their council. It is divided into five groups, Education, Health, Juvenile, Rural Industries and Social recreational.

Though the aims are identical, the Punjab organization differs from its English model in method and machinery, on account of prevalent illiteracy and lack of initiative among private individuals for this sort of work. In the Punjab it is therefore a semi-official body presided over by the Education Minister for receiving a grant of rupees one lakh a year from the Government. Various beneficial departments of the Government co-operate along with private individuals who are interested in it. One central organization distributes grant of Rs. 500 or more to each of the District Community Councils. This amount is utilized in paying allowances to Librarians in nearly 2,000 villages and in supplying gratis books, pamphlets, charts, etc., to village libraries on subjects of rural interest. It also possesses a cinema lorry which goes round the province. It keeps suitable films on health, education and other allied subjects. Each District Community Council has been supplied with one or more magic lanterns and slides.

It sends out a Demonstration train to backward regions, showing local industries, health and agricultural improvements and wherever, this train stops, fairs are organized by local councils where officials and non-officials give talks on various useful topics.

7. *"For all" Movements.*

One of the enthusiastic Divisional Inspectors has instituted a scheme, though he is not the inventor of it, by which every student of a school can take part in all the activities of his school. Before the school starts its usual work the entire school assembles at one place, each class under its own class teacher. Games, both European and indigenous are played, each class playing its own game separately under the supervision of its teacher. This is popularly known as "play for all."

In the same way there is "Refreshment for all." Each boy has to bring from his home a little refreshment and the class teacher has to see that he does. During the recess the teacher stands in the class room and sees that every boy had something to eat. "Music for all" is another stunt. The whole school assembles and the selected boys act as the chorus leader and the whole school sings in one voice.

8. *Divisional Organization.*

Divisions serve as the units in all the educational schemes. Each of the five Divisions of the Punjab has its Divisional Educational Association consisting of two members from each district elected by the District Head Masters Associations. An educational magazine is published under the auspices of each of these Divisions, and Educational exhibitions and conferences are held every year.

IMTIAZ MOHAMAD KHAN

CENTRAL BANKS AND SPECULATION

The experiences of the years 1928 and 1929 which the American Banking world did undergo as a result of the stock market speculation are not worth while being recounted in full. But the disastrous fall of securities' prices in November, 1929, meant the withdrawing of non-bank money from the short-term money market and the New York city banks had to fill in the gap to a great extent and commodity markets were immediately affected. It initiated and contributed to the severity of the general trade depression and many country bankers of the U. S. A. have failed in 1930 as a result of frozen loans due to deflation in land values which have been taken as security for bank loans. So some method of intensified and effective central bank control is being considered desirable in order to prevent such extreme demoralisation on the part of Bank executives during normal times of banking activity and to obtain the maximum of efficiency from the American Banking System.

The Wall Street crash has sent back money to Europe as the deflation of brokers' loans from 7,000 billion dollars to 3,500 released floating money which ran to London for safe employment. Thus this event has some domestic as well as international importance.

But this article pays emphasis to the salient lessons that India ought to learn from the disaster. The attitude of our banks towards the utility of centralised control, *i.e.*, the Reserve Bank (which would be created in the near future) and the reorganisation of some of the Stock Exchange practices are important issues which cannot be neglected any longer. But the mechanism, personality, functions and operations of the Stock Exchanges are not dealt with in this essay. As higher

industrial concentration will tend to be the order of the day in this country it would be wise to set right the machinery of Stock Exchanges as early as possible so as to make all securities liquid.

The American Speculation Craze.

The United States of America has often witnessed periodical "shake-outs" when unfortunate speculators were generally picked dry in the process of getting rich quick. But the recent speculative crash on the Wall Street is of more than ordinary interest, for very important lessons can be learnt out of this debacle by those willing to profit by the example of others. As soon as the speculative boom tends to subside the stocks and shares naturally get into "strong hands" who are not inclined to play the fools' game. Besides this usual weird effect the speculative outburst in the Wall Street during the years 1925-29 has produced several important consequences on the world's monetary history.

The Early Stage of the Speculative Mania.

"Man proposes but God disposes," says the common adage. With the most benevolent intentions of conferring a real boon on the war-worn Continent of Europe, the late Mr. Benjamin Strong, Governor of the Federal Reserve Bank,[1] initiated the wise step of encouraging the flow of gold back to Europe by means of low discount rates cheapening money at home.[2] But the American public began to make a naughty use of the easy

1 This aim unfortunately ran counter to the other objects of the F. R. Board. As the proposed aims of the F. R. Board were not clearly formulated the end in view was not often realised. Nothing is more important for the F. R. Board than to give up the pursuit of aims which are contradictory in nature. The "needs of business" or "international considerations" require low rates of interest but this would aid and abet the speculative tendency as it were. Credit restriction would undoubtedly restrict its overwhelming desire to aid agricultural production.

2 From the autumn of 1927 to the middle of 1928 gold to the extent of 600 millions, flowed out of the U. S. A. (see the F. R. Bulletin, January, 1930, p. 2).

and cheap money supplied to them by the F. R. Banking System.

From 1922 the security prices were slowly rising but began to slump down in January and February, 1928. But the final check to the speculative orgy was administered only in October, 1929. As a matter of fact it took a pretty long time and several undreamt of steps had to be taken by the banking authorities in order to stop the momentum of a four years' rise in stocks and shares.

Initiated in 1925[1] the American public soon began to gamble in the price of stocks and shares. An enterprising press soon began to furnish the credulous public with financial tips for the new class of speculators. But the speculative sun did not begin to shine brightly until September, 1927, when the low rediscount rates of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. were maintained by the F.R. Board to allow gold to flow to Europe to help the processes of monetary reconstruction and internationalise the gold standard. Easy money, maintained artificially, tempted people to speculate and there was wide public participation in the stock and share market.[2] There was unbridled speculation on their part which did not heed the fundamental forces of demand and supply.[3] This soon proved a source of danger to productive activity, savings,

[1] From 1925 to 1928 building and other constructional businesses were on an unprecedented scale and caused a huge growth of business profits. Hence the market value of securities began to rise from the beginning of 1925. Flourishing business conditions initiated the boom.

[2] The Commercial and Financial Chronicle says that "Every one became seized with the idea that it was possible to get rich overnight by simply taking flyers in the Stock Market. Accordingly everyone became fascinated with the fluctuations on the Stock Exchange and everyone participated therein. Scrub-women, porters, elevator boys, typists, bootblacks, soda-fountain attendants, clerks, statisticians, actors, actresses, and business executives—all classes became a prey to the speculative craze."

[3] Safety, yield and capital appreciation are generally the triple forces that directly influence the value of the securities on the stock market. Securities are sold at 30 or 40 years' purchase of the yield of securities. Other considerations such as good or bad trade, psychological influences, bank rate, exchange rates, and special considerations concerning industries also played their part in determining the value of securities. See H. Wither's "Hints about Investments."

banking institutions and everything else in society. The extent of public participation can be gauged by the mere fact that several stock-brokers had to arrange special compartments in their office premises to accommodate the women speculators. Another relevant fact which can make the reader visualise the dizzy height of the speculative movement, is that on a single day *i.e.*, March 13, 1928, a total of 3,947,530 shares, changed hands. As stated already the slump began to be felt in January and February 1928 so that this figure pertaining to the operations in March do not really indicate the most upward tendency in the " battle of the billions " as the speculative fever has been aptly designated by the imaginative press.[1] There were often in the earlier boom days five and six million share days. Another way of pointing out the extent and nature of universal participation in the stock market can be resorted to. The following speech of Signor Benito Mussolini makes the above fact apparent. Says he : " Everyone gambled on the stock exchange and since stocks rose incessantly every one bought at 20, sold at 100 and pocketted the difference with which he purchased a motor-car, a radio-set and telephone or made a trip to Europe, paying for it by instalments and built a house in the country." [2]

Not concerned with the task of relating the story of the speculative boom attention is mainly rivetted in this article on the salient features of the banking responsibilities and the way in which the F. R. Banking system discharged them.

Although sound homilies were being preached, now and then, condemning the reprehensible uses of the ill-gotten wealth of the speculators which was mostly spent on articles of luxury or semi-luxury articles such as automobiles, art importations at fabulous prices, wearing apparel and dress accessories—still

1 " On one day alone 17,000,000 shares changed hands which was a record for Wall Street."—Annual Register, 1929.

2 See " Literary Digest," May 1931.

nothing serious was attempted by the banking system till 1928. Mob psychology ruled the prices of stocks and shares out of all proportion to the income-earning powers of the companies.[1]

The first measure of the F. R. Board was more of the nature of a temporary 'warning' than a stern administrative measure checking the abnormalities of insane speculation. The sale of Government securities to the extent of $ 725,000,000 was the first indication of real activity on the part of the F. R. Board. It sought to apply a gentle brake on speculative activity by tightening credit resulting out of the above open market operations.

Nextly, it encouraged the free flow of gold from the country on the understanding that the psychological influence of the departing gold stock would arrest the speculative activity. Even this method of attacking speculation proved futile.

Thirdly the Chicago F. R. Bank raised its re-discount rate from $3\frac{1}{2}$ % to $4\frac{1}{2}$ % in January 1928 as a warning to the speculative element in Wall Street. The object of the high rate was to attract gold from the East to the Middle Western States. The F. R. Banks of Richmond, New York, San Francisco and Minneapolis soon followed suit and evinced a desire to curb the speculative tendency. But these high interest rates proved negligible factors in curbing the speculative enthusiasm.[2]

Such high rates in the different regional F. R. Banks of the U. S. A., soon tempted the short-term floating balances to return back to America to earn the high rates of interest.

[1] There are some writers who consider that this is not the first step taken by the F. R. Banking system to check speculation. Firstly, in the winter of 1927 to 1928 the F. R. Banking system refused to replace the exported gold by the process of purchasing government bonds on the open market—a policy which it generally pursued up till this time. This was more a *negative* measure than a positive attempt to check speculation. See Dowie, "American Monetary and Banking Policies," p. 282.

[2] It is only a broad generalisation of this tendency which makes the joint authors remark that Stock-Exchange speculations cannot be governed by variations of interest rate. See R. N. Owen and C. O. Hardy, " Interest Rates and Stock Speculation."

To check this adverse factor the other money centres were forced to raise their bank rates.[1]

Even with high bank rates (4½% rediscount rates) and high call money rates ranging at 6% on April 18, 1928, the banking system could not check the tide of speculative activity as Trade Corporations and other non-bank lenders soon entered the lucrative field of short-term lending. Deterred by high money rates kept up by the banks the brokers increased their dependence on these outside resources and the "boot-legging profits" of the Corporations were employed as short-term loans instead of being declared as honest dividends to the shareholders or kept as deposits in banks earning the low deposit rate of interest. It was this money contingent from abroad and domestic non-banking resources that led to the free supply to the brokers and one calculation (New Republic) states that these outside sources lent roughly one quarter of the credit needed by the brokers. Such artificial stimulation defeated the tactics of the F. R. Banking authorities, who soon realised that stock and share prices could not be maintained at such high levels. It thought that "the gambling stage of the bull movement" was reached and it expected a long and slow decline in prices. But its anxiety not to punish the innocent along with the guilty forced it to be lenient and further drastic repressive measures were not undertaken. Brokers' loans could not indeed be curtailed without hurting legitimate business needs at the same time.

But the above opinions were considered unduly pessimistic and a large number of well-informed writers began to maintain that this activity or upward swing in stock prices meant only a reflection of the increased business and productive energy of the people of the U. S. A. As Mr. Moody stated America became a creditor nation and the development of mass production became

[1] The monetary pressure on other centres can be indirectly measured by increase in the stock of U. S. A.'s gold between June 23, 1928, and Jan. 11, 1929, to the extent of 7 millions of dollars and between that date and 23rd October 1929, by a further accretion of 282 mil. worth of gold.

a settled fact. New industries and inventions added to the wealth of new products. Conditions of labour and politics continued to be steady and healthy prosperity was engendered by the improved credit arrangements of the F. R. Banking system. The inevitable result of all these forces and prosperity propaganda was the cumulative activity on the stock market.[1] This speculative craze was adroitly interpreted as a healthy sign indicative of real prosperity. Enthusiasm was catching and the speculative wave could not be checked by moral persuasion, credit restriction, and the tightening of money rates by the banking authorities.

Sympathetic speculative booms began to appear on the London Stock Exchange and the Paris Bourse by June, 1928, and speculation became universal in all the chief monetary centres. The emotional optimism so characteristic of the days of prosperity was mainly responsible for this activity.

Thinking that a stronger medicinal dose would allay the speculative fever the rediscount rate was raised to 5% in July, 1928. The open market operations were strengthened and a large batch of securities was sold to tighten money. The open market acceptances fell to a low minimum of $75 mil. by July, 1929.

No stronger action could be taken as the crop-moving season commenced in August and September, 1928. Fearing the administering of a check to legitimate business and lawful industry the banking authorities relied more on the moral suasion tactics and pressure upon New York member banks

[1] One view was that the broker's loans in the New York money market were after all the result of increased economic and fresh industrial activity resulting in new company flotations and the credit situation is after all not very abnormal and "there is no reason," says E. P. Stoker, a practical banker, "why Washington should shiver at the broker's loans as though it were being pursued by Banquo's ghost." Broker's loans or Stock Market loans are to the extent of 5,550 mil. and railroad industry are flourishing and a glance at the business situation reveals that the loans might after all be necessitated by the extension of these industries. The existence of stable commodity prices and business prosperity are leading to a vigorous criticism of the F. R. Board's policy of "tight money" with a view to squeeze credit out of the share-market. See Mr. Simmon's Letter, The Economist, May 25, 1929, p. 1163.

rather than on high interest rates. But as soon as the busy season was over the F. R. Board, once again displayed its real intentions and began to initiate high money rates to deflate speculation. By legitimate appeals and tactful warning and carefully influencing the member banks and other commercial banks it attempted to check the speculative use of credit. On February 7, 1929, the F. R. Board issued the following significant statement indicative of its intentions and real policy. "The F. R. Board neither assumes the right nor has it any disposition to set itself up as an arbiter of security speculation or values. It is however its business to see to it that the F. R. Banks function as effectively as conditions permit. When it finds that conditions are arising which obstruct the F. R. Board or the F. R. Bank in the effective discharge of their functions of so managing the credit facilities of the F. R. System as to accommodate commerce and business it is its duty to enquire into them and to take such measures as may be deemed suitable and effective in the immediate situation, means to restrain the use, either directly or indirectly, of the F. R. credit facilities in aid of the growth of speculative credit."

This solemn determination was not accepted willingly by the financial world and those who were most impudent in their challenge asserted that "it was no part of the duty of the F. R. Board to deflate speculation." It was interpreted as a long bow-shot beyond the proper function. The Wall Street Journal defiantly asserted that "the business of F. R. Board was banking" and that the country does not expect it "to regulate Wall Street, stabilise farm prices, control prize-fighting at Madison Square Garden, ameliorate the traffic congestion on Broadway and wash the baby in its spare time." In short, it did not want the F. R. System to cut short the country's nascent prosperity.

The F. R. Board, however, stuck to its original intentions and soon established it as the duty of the banking system to see that the public is not only adequately supplied with money and credit on reasonable terms but it should not allow them to make

an improper use of credit. The rediscount rate was raised in August, 1929, to 6 p.c. and the call money rate swung to a high level of 20 p.c. in March, 1929.[1]

Staggering under the load of a heavy money rate the speculators soon realised that a true connection existed between business prosperity and the value of the share. The bear contingent, the increase in unemployment, and reports of poor earnings of the companies—gave the finishing knock-out blows to the reeling and groggy speculators. But it has established beyond doubt that it is the duty of the Central Banking Organisation not only to provide the *volume of credit* needed but *its distribution and administration are no less important and vital to the society than mere volume alone.* This can be achieved by placing restrictions on total loan amounts which can be made to individual brokers. But this cannot be secured unless greater publicity of banking operations exists than at present and the C. R. Bank which detects this tendency can promptly refuse to rediscount for those erring banks which show increasing advances to those dabbling on the Stock Exchange

So now, perhaps, we are in a position to understand the salient lessons we have to infer from this speculative crash. Lesson Number One is the duty of the banking authorities to see that the volume of credit alone is not the main consideration but every endeavour should be made to check 'naughty' uses of credit.[2] Commercial credit should be used for legitimate short-term productive purposes and the purely speculative or financial uses have to be curbed in right earnest.[3] As in the U. S. A.

[1] The usury laws do not apply to the call rates in the New York money centre nor to the rediscount rates of the F. R. System. See J. M. Clark, "Social Control of Business," p. 453.

[2] See the recently broadcasted speech of Right Hon'ble Reginald McKenna, on January 3, 1930, quoted from the Bankers' Magazine.

[3] Prof. J. M. Keynes expresses this fundamental truth in a more dignified language as follows :—"The main criterion for interference with a "bull" or a "bear" financial market should be that is to say the probable reactions of the financial situation on the prospective equilibrium between savings and new investment," Vol. I, p. 257.

there would be in every other country banks prepared to finance the worst forms of speculation and then run to the stronger financial institutions for help. Such financial misdemeanour must be checked.

Lesson Number Two is that speculation can be properly conducted only by those who have given all their lives to the study of it. "Successful speculation is a whole-time job," says S. A. Moseley, a practical financier of great repute. Conducted by the ordinary man in the street it becomes a mere fool's game and although one view opines that momentarily neither the industrial expansion of the country might be checked,[1] nor the prosperity of the country might be adversely influenced, still the world as a whole would feel the material harm in the long run. Money rates had to rise in all centres to prevent the outflow of money to the U. S. A. A severe spasm of worldwide monetary stringency impeding the legitimate productive efforts of other countries ensued and induced the tendency towards falling commodity prices. This was the unfortunate result of the efforts of banking authorities to check speculation.

The succeeding world depression has been rightly traced to this speculative boom and its effects on the foreign money markets.[2] Steadiness in money rates is no less essential and international central banking co-operation should consider this as one of its important objectives.

Lesson Number Three is the extreme caution that is needed even by issue houses and Investment Trust Companies to conduct their operations during such times of disturbed public psychology as in the days of abnormal speculation. No sound investment

[1] This view should certainly be criticised for even in the short period there was restriction of credit the collateral shares against which credit is created have fallen greatly in value. As the speculative movement runs over a great period of time, savings bank accounts shrink and exports fall off for with the restriction of credit to debtor countries they cannot absorb the exports of the speculating country.

[2] See Mr. Reginald McKenna's Address at the last Annual Meeting (1931) of the Midland Bank.

trust ought to depart from the principles of diversification, intelligent management, compulsory formation of reserve and the reinvestment of a portion of its profits in the shares of important companies. Some of the American Investment Trusts did indeed conduct operations in a questionable manner, so as to deserve the castigation of that eminent practical financier, the late Mr. Paul Warburg. He designated them as "incorporated stock pools" and did not hesitate to decry them as "subtle instruments of stock-market inflation." But elsewhere in Great Britain as well as Scotland, the *pure* investment trusts have done sterling service to teach the superiority cult of the ordinary share over the Government bond. Investment Trust [1] can certainly do this better than ordinary investors in this respect and these have to be started in each country. If Banks were to merely own investment companies or form holding companies to enable them to undertake the promotional part of their business there might be success for the shareholders for the time being. But as the encouragement of speculation is not the proper function of commercial banking this speculative tendency of bank-owned investment companies has to be checked by the passing of restrictive legislation.

Lesson Number Four is with reference to the Stock Exchange organisation. The one significant lesson it ~~did~~ imparts was to introduce more specialisation in the mechanism of the Wall Street. New markets for stocks arose in New York. The Curb Market, the Real Estate Securities Exchange [2] and the Produce Exchange Markets for real estate bonds and stocks arose as a result of the speculative demand for these different kinds of stocks and shares. Besides this horizontal expansion of the N. Y. Stock Exchange organisation, improvements were

[1] See Dr. L. R. Robinson, "Investment Trust Organisation and Management."

[2] This was constituted on 13th March, 1929, so as to provide a regular place for trading in real estate securities. Now that mortgage bonds are to be created in this country by the Land Mortgage Banks a similar market for these mortgage bonds would be needed and there would be more people willing to come forward to invest in these mortgage bonds.

brought about in the matter of listing the shares of new companies on the Stock Market. This by itself would not check speculation but the investments of the public may be guided into channels of safety. The quotation of shares of properly developed companies is all that is needed. The formation of Industrial Finance and Investment Corporation in Great Britain by the late Lord Melchett [1] was definitely meant to place before the public for issue only such companies that deserve to succeed. An effective check against the flotation of unsound companies is what is needed.[2] The insistence on the mentioning of complete details in company prospectuses would also check unwise speculation.

Lesson Number Five is that weak punters who depend on outside help to carry on their speculative deals were the first to suffer. Speculating with others' money in an uninforming manner, meant disaster to themselves as well as the lenders. Some of the banks also suffered as a result of the bank officers speculating with bank's money embezzled by them.[3] They were the people who could least afford to lose the money, yet the temptation was so irresistible that they yielded to it. When they were unable to afford to lose even the margin,[4] it meant terrible loss to themselves and the banks.[5] The psychology of fear induced by the sudden collapse of stock speculation had its own reaction on the psychology of the businessmen who are not now cheerfully responding to the bait of "easy or cheap money" artificially created by the banks.

Lesson Number Six is the advisability or otherwise of the

1 See Hartley Withers " The Quicksands of the City," p. 128.

2 See the Macmillan Committee Report, pp. 167-168, para. 388.

3 See my paper submitted to the recent Lahore Economic Conference, January, 1931.

4 One of the suggested reforms is to check " margin-trading " on the Stock Exchange. The idea is to restrict it only in the case of the big people who maintain £10,000 margin accounts. But as genuine purchasers of stock are always few there would be no liquid market for any security if ' margin-trading ' and the ' floor trader ' are prohibited.

5 From 19th September, 1929, when stock values reached their greatest height, to 13th November, 1929, when they fell to the lowest level, security holders suffered a loss of $ 8,000,000,000, a sum greater than the entire cost of war to the U. S. A. See Annual Register, 1929 volume.

independence of the regional branches of a Central Bank operating in a big country. Now, if India were to decide to fall in with the regional plan basis of the Reserve Bank it behoves us to realise the necessity for the independence of the regional branches of the Reserve Bank. A rigid uniformity in the matter of rates can and need be enforced only in the days of national or international necessity. There would be radical differences in the rediscounting obligations in the different regional centres due to natural differences in financial requirements. Hence some of the branches may maintain lower rediscount rates (*i.e.* $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. lower than any other rates of other branches). In U. S. A. some of the five federal reserve banks maintained roughly 4 per cent. while the remaining seven maintained only $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.[1] But it must be admitted that the F. R. Board has not yet mastered the technique of harmonising the different regional requirements and fusing them, if needed, into a single national discount policy. The rate-fixing power is not yet placed in the hands of the F. R. Board. (Dec. 1930.)

Lesson Number Seven is that we have to revise our banking knowledge in more directions than one. The older conception of banking was to have a small turnover of business, maintain excessive rates of interest and high exchange charges. This has to be given up for the modern conception of bigger turnovers and lower interest rates. Another old-fashioned faith which has to be discarded is the ability of the banker to deflate speculation. It is plain now that banks after all cannot hope to deflate speculation. All that the high interest rates can hope to do is "to husband the country's credit reserves, keep the financial hospital beds in reserve for a possible emergency and *help to some extent in curbing dangerous tendencies in the speculative markets.*"[2] Just as the entrepreneur is not deterred by an increase in borrowing rates when he realises that prices

[1] See the Literary Digest, February 18, 1928.

[2] E. G. Nichols in the Chicago Daily News. Italics mine.

are tending to rise in the country market, so also the increased borrowing rates will not deter the speculators so long as enthusiasm is catching and an enthusiastic press is providing them with financial tips of doubtful standing. This does not mean that the banking system should not charge a higher rate for loans on security collateral than on commercial paper collateral. This is a legitimate and lawful device which may go a long way in seeing that bank credit is used for legitimate productive purposes. The curtailing of loans on speculative security basis is seriously advocated by all economists and bankers in the U. S. A.[1]

Lesson Number Eight is the part played by instalment selling or "consumption lending" as the bankers styled it. Taking the National City Bank of New York into consideration it aimed at the direction of increasing the current prosperity of the U. S. A. by this plan of systematically financing the consumption abilities of the small-salaried borrowers. Small sums were generally lent on personal security at 6 per cent. rate of interest for securing home needs and two or three signatures were generally insisted on to eliminate extravagant customers. These loans were made repayable at the end of a year or a period of eighteen months and weekly deposits were accepted from the borrower customer for the purpose of liquidating the original loan. Undoubtedly society was benefited to a great extent by this plan of consumption lending but it was this plan that must be held responsible for worsening the speculative situation. As 25 per cent. of the value of the article alone was to be paid at the beginning the borrowers had some money to be utilised in the speculative ventures. While it created abnormal prosperity in the U. S. A. it also facilitated the middle class people to lay by something for being lost in the speculative attempts to get rich quick.

[1] See H. P. Wills' article on "Speculative Security Issues in the U. S. A." in the "Banker," 1931.

Although this has been the unfortunate result still the "consumption banking" of which America is the pioneer is a legitimate ideal which would tend to eliminate the heartless pawn-brokers or loan sharks and their unsavoury practices. Philanthropic and self-supporting loan societies and Morris Plan banks were started but the interest charges have not been reduced and the attempt of the larger banks to serve the consumption needs of the people is noteworthy. If a large number of banks conduct this business there is an open and legal market where funds can be secured easily and the extortion of the loan sharks can be evaded. The "uniform small-loan law" which is adopted by some of the States in the U.S.A., aims to tolerate the existence of the honest money-lender and his 30% rate of interest which covers his costs and risks.[1]

Lesson Number Nine consists in selecting and adopting the wise features of the Wall Street organisation and discarding some of the similar obnoxious features which tend to prevail here as well as in the New York Stock Market. The membership fees are indeed high in the country than before; for instance, formerly any individual depositing Rs. 5 could become a broker but this admission fee is now raised to Rs. 7,000 in the case of the Bombay Stock Exchange organisation.[2] These associations should be chartered bodies and admission should not depend on individual financial ability alone but three sureties should be provided by every broker as proof of his integrity to perform his contracts.

Secondly the system of monthly settlements prevails in Bombay Share Bazaar or Stock Exchange. The system at Calcutta is somewhat different. There are no settlement days and delivery is theoretically due the second day after the

[1] See F. W. Ryan, 'Usury and Usury Laws," pp. 135-137.

[2] The membership fee is Rs. 5,000 in the case of the Calcutta Stock Exchange. There are about 300 in all. There is a committee which governs the Stock Exchange consisting of 14 members. There is nearly a 5 to 16 days period for completing the contract. The Forward business is limited to 5 or 10% of the total transactions.

contract is passed and sales of securities are effected for the most part under blank transfers.[1] The system of fortnightly or monthly or periodic settlements is preferable as it introduces order in the Stock Exchange operations of the speculators. The operations on " bear account " would become penalised relatively to those which are conducted for a rise, for with daily or short-period settlements of 5 days as were experimented with on the London Stock Exchange after the war the former require much larger financial resources than the latter. Forced selling in order to satisfy the system of daily settlements becomes the rule and the slump becomes aggravated as a result of the daily settlement. The restraining action of the bear operations tends to place a natural check to the high level of prices to which shares and stocks may be carried by the speculator. The calls for money on the part of the Stock Exchange operators would be more frequent under the system of daily settlement and the call money rates fluctuate more actively under this system than one under the monthly or the fortnightly settlement. These were the defects experienced under the daily settlements or forty-eight-hour period on the Wall Street.[2]

The system of blank transfers are still allowed on the

[1] See the Indian Year Book (1927), p. 662. But generally there is a 3-days settlement. But the seller need not compulsorily produce the share at the end of the period. There are no periodical settlements and bears can postpone delivery till they can cover the sales at favourable rates. The author knows several cases when transactions were dragged for several months before the accounts were squared. A penalty for the retention of the blank transfers beyond a certain period can be imposed. The present practice of managing agents making unavoidable delay in sending shares has to be checked. The squaring of accounts at definite periods prevents the indefinite pooling up of risks that prove very dangerous when any crisis were to develop. This is the rationale why there is insistence on periodic settlements.

[2] There are, of course, many defenders of the practice of daily settlement on the Stock Exchange. Firstly, they tend to check over-commitments. Secondly, the burden of settling 2 weeks' transactions would be very great. Finally, the banks would lose the valuable outlet for their short-term funds. Considering the fact that transactions are few, the first and second advantage will not be realised in actual practice in our Stock Exchanges. The regulation and flow of credit by banking authorities would be possible under periodic settlements.

Bombay Stock Exchange and measures to curtail the life of blank transfers are not enforced even at the present day, 23rd January, 1931. Since these lines have been written attempts have been made by the Bombay Government to increase the stamp duties in March, 1932.

The system of blank transfers prevailing in these Stock Exchanges of ours need not be declared void but as it tantamounts to bad transfer, the delivery transfer deeds should be executed on prescribed uniform contract notes or forms which should have a foil and counterfoil. The Secretary of the Exchange ought to get a copy of the contract.[1] Due taxation ought to be levied on these contract obligations. A maximum fee of Rs. 40 has been suggested by the Indian Taxation Enquiry Committee. Specially heavy additional stamp duties can be levied on carry-over contracts.

Another baneful practice which a banker has to check is the habit to refrain from the transferring of the security owing to heavy stamp duty. A fixed lowered duty, as is prevailing in England, is to be accepted and this suggestion of maximum fee of Rs. 10 for the transfer would safeguard the legal position of the banker, and would not deter the borrower from completely transferring the legal ownership to the lending banker.

Lesson Number Ten is the impossibility of rationing credit in an unorganised money market, specially when no personal contact exists between the Central Reserve Bank and the other credit-creating banks. Knowing full well that credit has to be supplied to business concerns at the same old rate as before every endeavour was made to restrict the speculative uses of credit. A differentiating rate might only mean that re-lending would be done by the legitimate trade borrowers

[1] An official list of closing quotations can be compiled and published by him. Again it would enable him to keep a good record of all bargains for inspection. A uniform brokerage fee can also be stipulated and enforced.

to the speculators who are willing to pay higher rates for the use of money. To draw discrimination between the loans made to the legitimate borrowers carrying on production and speculative borrowers' loans or brokers' loans, as they are termed in the Wall Street jargon, is useless under such circumstances when inter-lending can be made. A more rational procedure would be the limiting or prohibiting, if need be, access to member banks which are abusing the privilege of securing loans by the rediscount privilege at the Reserve Bank. Mere blind rediscounting is totally injurious and a careful analysis of the items of paper for rediscount should be the object of the Central Bank. A really useful Central Reserve Bank ought not to act merely as a reserve or emergency bank alone but the credit controlling aspect of its functions ought not to be ignored. Unless this aspect of the duty is enforced there will be a 'saturnalia of loose credit.'

The rationing of articles has been rightly acclaimed as a successful measure but it is impossible to think of successful rationing of credit and doling it out to the credit of trustworthy borrowers alone and refuse the same to others. If this power were to be granted to the banks they would become inquisitorial in nature and unless all banks co-operate this rationing of credit will not succeed. Even legitimate borrowers will not be sure that credits would be extended to them up to the limit required under the rationing regime and they would fall a prey to insecurity.[1] Hence this policy of rationing credit in a decentralised banking system has to be discarded and any other method of controlling credit, say by moral persuasion, discount rates and a rigid examination of the member banks' activity by the C.B. authority, would be preferable to the arbitrary and ineffective remedy of attempting to improve the quality of credit created. Any decentralised banking system—for even in the U.S.A. only $\frac{1}{3}$ of the existing banks belong to the F. R. system—cannot hope to

[1] See A. C. Pigou, "Industrial Fluctuations."

improve the quality of credit, for the needed co-operation between the different unit banks cannot exist and co-operation is a thing which can never be enforced from outside on unwilling minds. Hence arises the necessity for developing a highly integrated banking system where the Central Bank can hope to do something under this heading.[1] This is the main reason why banking amalgamations have to be encouraged, for there can be discipline, drill and decorum in the case of the few remaining units rather than in the case of a motley group or a vast array of bankers. A restraining influence over the general over-extended credit situation can be secured if the policy of restricting or limiting credit to member banks encouraging speculation is pursued by the Central Reserve Bank in the highly organised banking system, and too frequent oscillations of the bank rate can be dispensed with under this regime. This would mean that the C. R. Bank's credit control and discipline are virtually existing as a matter of fact. Nothing is more conducive towards the unification of the banking system than this measure. This examination and inspection aspect of Central Banking would be facilitated if the commercial banks do not undertake[2] "mixed banking" functions on any large scale. The displacing of the Government securities item as far as possible by suitable trade bills would be a desirable innovation in our commercial banking matters. A trade bill can easily become an ideal banking security if the newly created would be Acceptance Houses and the rediscounting market were to co-operate with the banks in this respect.

Lesson Number Eleven is the tendency on the part of the U.S.A. banking authorities to place the broker loans on a stable

[1] See the recently broadcasted speech of Reginald McKenna quoted in the "Economist.," January 3. 1931, London.

[2] The extension of the National Bank's activities into the field of trust company and the savings bank was accepted and rendered permanent after the F. R. Act. The McFadden Law of 1927 authorised banks to invest a portion of their savings deposits in mortgages of city real estate so that with "frozen assets" the problem of solving banking stability is endangered thereby.

footing and independent of the call money of the banks. The Continental Bank of New York recently increased its capital solely to finance the brokers' requirements and pave the way towards stabilising call money rates and the collateral loan market rates.[1] About 350 Stock Exchange and Curb Houses hold the stock and the directors are all representatives of the brokerage houses. In addition to this move there is agitation to bring in a reform advocating the fortnightly settlement and an effective clearing system. This attempt to reform the stock exchange organisation is laudable. We do not witness such a thing in this country. The wise recommendations of the Atlay Committee were not accepted in the beginning and until 1925 there was no attempt to carry them into execution. It was the 'threat of Government intervention' that brought about some welcome changes. But the call money market in the Presidency Towns is still limited to a few crores and inter-bank transactions in this line are rather frequent.

Conclusion.

The above facts clearly indicate that speculation is inherent in human nature and is an attendant evil in the days of prosperity. So long as 'outside money' can help the brokers any banking system can do little to check this lawful activity. A unified banking system can however mitigate the evils arising out of unbridled speculative activity. Speculative outbursts would occur now and then thus revealing the imperfections of the economic structure. As one distinguished writer says, "speculation is an inseparable concomitant of any market that is really open and free but what is needed is the pursuit of the golden law of moderation in this as in every other walk of life." Otherwise enterprise degenerates into adventure.

[1] In spite of this the New York City Banks have been forced to take up the brokers' loans as the non-banking lenders withdrew their money from the call money market in 1930.

Sound banking management, effectively enforced checks against overissue of unsound securities and the curtailing of the immense volume of loans for speculative purposes are the only real curbs against the speculative craze. The sound banks should join their hands together and dissociate themselves from the stock-jobbing interests or refrain from forming security affiliates—a practice which most of the National Banks are guilty of.[1]

Education on the part of investors to discount the booming methods of the under-writers who encourage the public to buy would also be a welcome feature. Popular support for highly speculative and often worthless enterprises can only be checked in this way.

Apart from the inherent impossibility of checking speculation it is not after all advisable to check speculation entirely for the restriction of speculation means the reduction of values. Without the speculator the economic benefits of a free market cannot be realised by the producers and consumers of society.[2]

B. RAMACHANDRA RAU

[1] The Bank of the United States which failed in 1930 had 48 affiliates and an affiliate was specially formed for making bank shares active and become widely held by the general public.

[2] The Leeman's Act of England has wisely prohibited speculation in British bank shares but it has at the same time greatly restricted the market for them.

TAJ MAHAL

This marble palace is no tomb of love
For faith to languish in, and dream grow cold,
Where ghosts trail mourning robes, and memories rove
The eyeless corridors of youth gone old;
Rather, these soaring blooms of marble seem
A life triumphant, rising on dauntless wings,
To where the aegis of eternal dream
Holds time-less court above the wrack of things.
The warm night breathes with moon and sleeping flowers;
A marble road flows glimmering to the hall
Wherein one limpid light, across the hours,
Marks the white bed of Mumtaz-i-Mahal,
A star from heaven come down blue steep on steep
To light the corridors of her living sleep.

WADE OLIVER

ENGLISH FOLKLORE

During the old English period various charms and cures were in use among the people. Against a swarm of bees the old English poet prescribes this :—" take earth with your right hand and throw it under your right foot and utter the incantation."

But it must not be assumed that superstitious beliefs were the possessions of the ancient world only. Old superstitious are now dying out but new ones are coming in. It is among the rustics and uneducated people that old beliefs are kept intact. The villagers of England have a simple unassumed manner ; education and modern civilisation have not been able to remove their quaint manners. When you visit the countryside you find the people very communicative unlike the sophisticated townsman. An English friend of mind went to the countryside with a girl of his party to canvass during the General Election of 1929. As he was talking to an old lady she turned on him all on a sudden and said, " Well Mister, your friend has got a very short skirt ! " From this my friend was sure that the old woman would vote against his party. I met a simple villager of Devonshire who wanted to be very pleasant to me and remarked, "We all (meaning white men and black men) come from the same stock, sir. It was when Cain killed his brother and God asked him why he did so that Cain turned black with terror. So one section of the people became black from that day." It was not a flattering idea to me to be told that we descend from Cain, specially because I was just then reading an old English poem in which the Christian poet again and again described a monster as ' Cain's progeny.' Of course I knew very well that the simple villager meant no harm.

Superstitions owe their origin to popular beliefs, to a mixture of Christianity with other creeds, and to the dread of the

unknown. But they are not the monopoly of the uneducated or semi-educated villager. The enlightened town-dweller also is not free from them. Even society women visit the Bond Street Clairvoyant, palmist, or crystal-gazer, not to speak of the fortune-tellers and palmists of the annual village fairs. 'Thirteen' is an unlucky number and there are people who defy it by forming the "Thirteen Club," which has thirteen members and which meets at the thirteenth hour of the thirteenth day of a month. Yet when an aeroplane crashed on her way to France in 1928, many English papers took care to flash the news that she was carrying thirteen passengers, as if that was the cause of the disaster. May is a very unlucky month for marriage. Still society marriages sometimes take place in May. This and the 'Thirteen Club' are mere stunts is and their existence only points to the survival of the belief in these two superstitions. As late as 1928, many marriages took place in the last few days of April, that is, before the approach of the unlucky month. Even educated people take care to 'touch wood' in order to avoid mishaps or the devil's intervention, when they have expressed satisfaction at the good fortune or good health of their children. Referring to the speech of the Secretary of State for India in the House of Commons, the London correspondent of the *Statesman* (of Calcutta) wrote (in the *Statesman* of 16th January 1932), "touching the wood of the table before him, Sir Samuel declared that so far the action taken (in India against the Civil Disobedience Movement) had been successful." I do not know if Sir Samuel touched wood purposely at the psychological moment but the *Statesman's* correspondent is certainly a believer in the old superstition about touching wood.

We know that simple folk like costers spit on their first money of the day for luck and fishermen spit on the mouth of the first fish of the day. But even an educated man turns his chair round thrice in order to change his luck at cards. Another popular belief is that it is unlucky to receive a knife or scissors without paying for it. It is said that in 1927,

when Queen Mary was given golden scissors for cutting a ribbon at Edinburgh, she insisted on paying six pence. Similarly the Lord Mayor of London made a payment in 1928.

Educated people know the worthlessness of such beliefs, still they cannot shake them off. I do not believe in the existence of ghosts. Yet when at night I pass under a big tamarind tree in my old village, a tree which was reputed to be the rendezvous of all the ghosts and fairies of the locality in my childhood, I have an uncanny feeling even now. I consider all the superstitions of educated people to be of this nature.

Educated people sometimes keep alive ghost stories whereas many country people do not believe them. Many rustics are heard to say this about ghosts, "I dunna believe as there's anythin' in it, as the dead come back. If they been gone to the good place they wouldna want to come back, and if they bin gone to the tother place they wouldna be let to." On the other hand when the play of 'Count Dracula' or 'The Vampire' was first staged in London many society ladies are said to have fainted.

Many old Halls have their particular ghosts. There is the traditional 'Black Lady of Windsor Castle' (said to be Queen Elizabeth) who was seen last in 1923. Cardinal Wolsey has often been seen at Hampton Court. Some streets or heaths are also reputed to be the favourite resorts of ghosts. Besides these, new ghosts are always appearing in places where atrocious murders have taken place. The Cornish coast, near which German U-boats destroyed ships during the last European War, is credited by the rustics to be the rendezvous of the spirits of the victims (of the submarines). They move about with lights in order to lead astray any German vessel that may happen to pass that way. Houses that remain vacant for a long time become the favourite resorts of ghosts as is the case in our country.

The name given to a ghost by rustics is 'boggart.'

Boggarts haunting houses sometimes become notorious by removing bedclothes off the sleepers. The best way to remove a boggart is to induce it to agree to be away 'while hollies are green' and a boggart is foolish enough to fall into this trap (for hollies are ever green). A horse that starts at a hedge is said 'to take the boggart.' Boggarts appear before men in the shapes of various animals, as for example, a large dog, pig or calf. Their shrieks are occasionally heard at night and it means death to the hearer. A boggart is also called a 'Barghest' because it sits on a gate or fence ready to fall on the shoulder of a late traveller. 'Gabriel's Hounds' are supernatural dogs whose sound at night is a warning of death. They are alluded to by Wordsworth in a sonnet—"For overhead are sweeping Gabriel's Hounds," etc. In Cornwall we hear of a spectre huntsman and his hounds, which are called the 'Devil and the Dandy-dogs.' Once a peasant, being pursued by them, fell on his knees and began to pray, and the unholy crew could not touch him.

'Seven Whistlers' are birds whose cry indicates misfortune. Miners refuse to go down the pits after hearing them. Superstitions like these are most rampant among people who are generally engaged in some dangerous occupation, and during a war superstitions grow apace.

The Germans tried to take advantage of the superstitions of the people during the last Great War. They tried to frighten the allied armies by projecting lights on clouds from aeroplanes and the allies saw fantastic figures in the sky. This device is said to have at first been successful against the French soldiers. But the English Officers turned the table by telling their men that supernatural powers were not fighting against them, but those were the angels coming to help them.

The rustic folk invoke various spirits to frighten children, *e.g.*, "If tha doesna leave off skrinin, I'll fetch a black bogy (*i.e.*, boggart) to these," or "I'll zend the mumpoker afer ye,"

There are many harmless spirits who are always engaged

in mining unseen by human beings, and they should by no means be disturbed by whistling or any other noise.

There are again different names for 'Will-o'-the-wisp' among the rustics, *e.g.*, 'Hob-lantern,' 'Jack-a-lantern,' 'Kit-in-the-candle-stick,' etc. Victims of it walk round and round, and the only way out of its clutches is to turn some article off one's clothing. There are many little spirits which help the farmer. But if he disturbs them he will find his cream-pans broken, horses and cattle turned loose, and the housewife's churning will not produce butter.

Superstitions.

A rustic can recognise many signs of approaching death whereas his educated brother is quite in the dark. A small cinder from the fire is called a 'coffin.' It betokens death if it is silent; but if it makes a crackling noise it indicates that there is some money in store. When household furniture creaks it implies death or serious disease. If a clock, a picture, or a looking-glass falls, it also portends death. If letters cross in the post, or if a piece of land is accidentally left out in ploughing or sowing some one is sure to die. To break a looking glass, to open an umbrella inside a house, or to drop a comb, is to call for the death of some one in the house. If three people take part in making a bed some one is sure to die within a year. None should turn a mattress on a Friday or Sunday. Three candles in a line also portend death within a year. The sudden death of a pig or departure of rats from a house is a sign of coming death. We all know the saying "Even rats leave a sinking ship." The flight of a dove into a room also portends death, and so does a fruit-tree when it blossoms out of season :—

> A blossom upon the apple-tree when the apples are ripe
> Is a sure termination to somebody's life.

The magpie is an unlucky bird. If you see one at a time you will come to grief. Two or three at a time indicate different

fates. The popular sayings about magpies are—

> One for sorrow, two for mirth,
> Three for a wedding, four for a birth,

The northern form of the saying is—

> Yan is sorrow, Tweea is mirth ;
> Three in weddin', fower is birth ;
> Five is silver, six is gold ;
> Sebben is a secret, nivver to be told.

To counteract the mischievous influence of magpies one has to raise one's hat, make a cross on the ground with the foot, wet the forefinger with spittle and therewith make a sign of the cross on shoes and utter these words—"Devil, devil, I defy thee; magpie, magpie, I go by thee."

A black cat is a good sign, and it should by no means be driven out of a house. There is a story (which, I am sure, is absolutely without any foundation) that Mr. Ramsay MacDonald was an unsuccessful man in his early life and one day he started for Scotland in despair. While he was waiting at a railway station in London a black cat began to rub against his feet again and again. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald took the hint, came back to his lodgings and from that day became very successful in all his affairs.

To return to our subject. A kitten born in May is unlucky —"May chets, Bad luck begets." Goslings of May also are unlucky. I have already said that it is unlucky to marry in this month. A Devonshire saying is "Marry in May, You'll rue it for aye." It is unlucky to kill a robin, wren, martin or swallow. It is also ominous to spill salt, to break a salt-cellar, or to hang a picture over a door. When you have started from a room on a journey you must not re-enter it. But if you have to, you must counteract the evil by sitting on a chair for a while.

If a baby's first tooth appears on the upper gum it will not live long. A gap between two front teeth is a sign of luck and

wealth (Readers of Chaucer know why his Wife of Bath was 'Gat-toothed'). A child should never be weighed or it must not see its face in a mirror before it is a year old. A new broom must first sweep something into the house, lest it should sweep away good luck. Friday is a very unlucky day for going out on undertaking a new job.

Two bells ringing simultaneously in a house indicate a parting. To stir tea in the tea-pot is to stir up strife. To cross knives or to put the poker and the tongs on the same side of the fire-place, is unlucky. If a woman's hair grows low on the forehead it presages widowhood, and it is called a 'widow's luck.'

> "If your eyebrows meet across the nose,
> You'll never live to wear your wedding clothes,"

is a saying of Midland, though elsewhere it is a good sign. A white spot on a finger-nail is called a 'gift,' and it indicates different fates according as it occurs on different fingers:—on the thumb, a present; on the forefinger, a friend or lover, etc. A mole on the body also indicates different things:—

> "If you've a mole above your chin,
> You'll never be beholden to any of your kin."

When a new dress is worn an old lady will utter the formula, "Health to wear it, strength to tear it, and money to buy another."

There are many quaint practices connected with various days of the year. Thus on Paul Pitcher's Day (January 24th) boys in Cornwall throw broken pitchers at houses, shouting 'Paul's eve, and here's a heave.' Guy Fawkes Day (November 5th) is the day of mischievous pranks indulged in by boys, especially by the undergraduates of the two older Universities. Valentine's Day (February 14th) is the occasion when birds select their mates. It was a gala day for human beings also at one time. English literature bears testimony to it though few

people observe it now. Up to the middle of the 19th century the Eve of Mayday (May 1st) was known in the north as 'Mischief-night.' Gates were broken, tubs left outside were carried away, and other properties were damaged, on this occasion. Lyric poets were very fond of going 'a-Maying' with their dear ones on this occasion. But inspite of attempts at reviving May-Day festivities we now hear more of May-Day riots (labour troubles) in important cities of the West than of festivities.

In the New Year the first person to enter a house must be a lucky man, and not a woman or a red-haired man. There were various customs connected with the 'Twelfth Day,' *i.e.*, January 6th. Shakespeare's play, 'The Twelfth Night,' was written for this festive occasion and hence this name. To this day belonged the ceremony called 'howling,' when boys, called 'howlers,' went round 'wassailing' the orchards. After this farmers used to entertain the 'howlers' with toast and sugar soaked in new cider. This ceremony is referred to by Herrick in his 'Hesperides':

> "Wassail the trees, that they may bear
> You many a plum and many a pear;
> For more or less fruits they will bring
> As you give them wassailing."

Christmas was and still is the most popular festival of the year. Children still believe that Santa Claus comes through the chimney on this occasion to stuff their stockings with presents. There is the story of a boy who was praying just before Christmas for a bicycle as a present. His aunt happened to hear him, and, thinking that a bicycle would be too dangerous for him, gave him a tricycle as a Christmas present. At night she placed her ears near the keyhole to hear what he might say in his prayer before going to bed. The boy said "Oh Santa Claus, don't you know the difference between a bicycle and a tricycle?" In 1928, the Daily Mail (of December 13th) contained the account of a school-mistress being taken

to task by angry mothers for telling their children that the presents the children get are kept there by their parents at night and not by Santa Claus, who does never come. It seems the children had come home weeping at the rude shock which their cherished dream had from the school-mistress.

Charms and Medicines.

Charms for diseases and other harms, which were so much in vogue during the Old English period, are mostly forgotten now. But a few persist still, and new ones have also come into being. A horse-shoe on the door or the chimney-piece for bringing in good luck, is a familiar sight all over the country. The practice of touching wood has already been referred to. Market women and hawkers spit on their first coin of the day. Perhaps this grew out of a practice resorted to as a charm against witchcraft. There were various rustic methods of treating diseases and some of them still exist. Disease-charmers and bone-setters can still be found. The 'Christian Science' movement is a superstition of recent growth. The followers of this creed resort to what we call in this country 'faith-cure.' No doctor is called in when some one is ill. A coroner once passed severe strictures on the parents of a boy, who were followers of Christian Science and who did not seek medical aid when their son was ill the result being that the boy died. Charwomen may still be found who think that old church linen heals wounds very quickly. In 1927, a person was accused at Nottinghamshire Hall of taking money for a love philtre in order to cure a husband of unfaithfulness (the philtre was a mixture of boracic acid and baking powder). There are many charms for whooping cough—a familiar one being to put a piece of the ailing child's hair between two pieces of bread and butter, and to give it to a dog. The disease is at once transferred to the dog.

During the European War both officers and men carried amulets to avert danger. At the present moment there is a

fresh supply of new amulets under the less superstitious name of mascots. A few years back mascots could be found in all women's belongings like hand-bags, handkerchiefs, scarves, etc. Candidates at elections, flying men and cricket and football teams very frequently receive mascots from sympathisers

A rural woman, for fear of some mishap, will never tell you that she is perfectly well. She will at most say, "I'm pretty middlin'." This word 'Middling' is used to indicate any degree of health. Thus 'middlin,' 'joost middlin,' 'nobbut-middlin,' imply moderate health; 'very middlin' or 'uncommon middlin' means very ill.

There are quaint sayings among the people, which prescribe a course of life that will ensure good health, *e.g.* "An apple a day, keeps the doctor away," and the Devonshire form of it is "Ait a happle avore gwain to bed, An' you'll make the doctor beg his bread." Another saying is—"Don't cast a clout Till May is out" (clout means woolen underwear next to skin and the weather being uncertain in May woolen vests must be used up to the end of this month). There was an old belief that in order to have a rosy complexion one has to get up early on May-morning and wash one's face with dew, which is known even now as May-dew.

There were at one time many superstitious practices for divining future events. Some of them remain up to the present day. Love-divination is the most popular form of it. If a country lass wants to make her sweetheart's love constant or to make a choice out of several lovers, she resorts to superstitious practices. A game of children is to find out the occupation of the future husband. A girl picks off the seeds of a rye-grass from the bottom upwards and utters these words—"tinker, tailor, soldier, sailor, rich-man, poor-man, thief." Each seed represents the occupation named as it is taken off. The words are repeated again and again until only one seed remains at the top and it indicates the occupation of the girl's future husband. The future husband's name is again ascertained in the following

manner. A new envelope is opened and the names of three known young men are written in three corners and the fourth corner is left blank. A piece of wedding cake is then placed in the middle, the envelope is folded up again and placed under the girl's pillow for three nights. Every morning she tears off one corner and the name left on the forth corner is the name of her future husband. If it is the blank corner the girl will die an old maid. In order to know when a marriage will take place a woman will count off fruit-stones or buttons with the words " this year, next year, sometime, never."

Birth, Marriage and Death Customs.

Many birth, marriage and death customs owe their origin to old superstitions. The causes are now lost sight of though the customs exist. A baby's nails must not be cut before it is a year old ; but they can be bitten off. The belief may be due to the aversion to iron in the middle ages. The fate of a child depends upon the day of the week on which it is born.

Munday's cheel is fair in tha face.
Tewsday's cheel is vull of grace.
Wensday's cheel is vull of owe.
Thezday's cheel hath var to go.
Vriday's cheel is loring and giving.
Satterday's cheel work'th 'ard vur a living.
Zinday's cheel's a gentleman.
Cheel born upon old Kursemas day
Es gude, and wise, and fair and gay. (Devonshire.)

Similarly the fate of a married couple depends on the day on which they are married :—

Monday for wealth,
Tuesday for health,
Wednesday is the best day of all,
Thursday for crosses,
Friday for losses,
Saturday no luck at all.

One superstition of the nursery is that if an empty cradle is rocked a child will come very soon.

Rock the cradle empty,
You'ill rock the babies plenty.

The first time a baby leaves its mother's room it must be taken upstairs and not down. If the house is one-storied the nurse mounts a chair with the baby in her arms. Mr. Stanley Baldwin, the leader of the Conservative party, once said this in a speech: "On the day that I was born, our cook wrapped me in a blanket and to insure I should rise in life she did the proper thing—she carried me up some stairs. But she wanted my life to be a considerable one, so she tramped up to the top of the house, and there she put on a chair on the middle of one of the attic rooms, got on it with me in her arms, and then held me up." Now you know why Mr. Baldwin is so great a man.

There are many superstitions connected with a marriage ceremony. It is unlucky for a bridal party to meet a funeral procession on the way to the church. A widow must not be present at a wedding in Shropshire. After the church ceremony whoever of the couple steps out first is destined to be the ruler of the house. A few years back, at a place near Oxford, a mother was waiting outside a church and as soon as she saw her son stepping out first she clasped her hands in joy much to the discomfiture of the daughter-in-law.

Old shoes were formerly thrown after a newly married couple. This custom is to be found here and there even now. Old shoes are tied even to honeymoon aeroplanes.

Another Yorkshire belief is that if a bride-cake is passed through a wedding ring and placed under the pillow, it is sure to bring dreams of future marriages.

Weather Lore.

English people greet one another in the street with some remark about the weather. This is probably because the English

weather is very uncertain, and twice or thrice in the course of the same day they have some new things to say about it. A girl meets a friend in the street with the familiar greeting, "awful weather, isn't it," and the other replies "beastly," and passes on.

The rustic has an advantage over the town-dweller in describing the weather, for he has a richer vocabulary for it. We cannot improve upon the following expressions: 'It's a donkey day, Ben! Varra slashy;' or[6] Here 's a sharp mowornin, John. Ey, as snell as a step-mother's breath;' 'A' tell you 'tis a day wud blaw the horns off the Key' (cows). When the day is bright with a chilly wind, it is a 'sly' day; when a piercing wind blows it is to a rustic 'peel-a-bone' weather, and when it rains heavily it is "raining pitchforks with the tines downwards".

The rustic has some ideas about the weather based on old superstitions and long experience. Thus when the sky is full of fleecy clouds the weather will be 'neither long wet nor yet long dry.' A fine day out of season is a 'weather-breeder,' and it indicates coming stormy weather. If a halo (called a 'wheel,' or a 'bur') is seen round the moon, it is going to rain. "If t' bur i' t' muin be far away (*i.e.*, if it is a big wheel) Mek heaste an' 'hoosen yer cworn an' hay."

The country folk believe that birds and beasts foresee what sort of weather is coming. Hence if they hear the sheep at night they think that rain is coming. 'If the crows play football,' *i.e.*, if they gather in large number, it is a sign of rain. If seagulls are seen inland it is also a sign of a coming storm. The following is heard in Cumberland:—

"Sea-mo, sea-mo, bird on t'stand,
Theer nivver good weather when thoo's on t'land."

A very common saying among farmers is:—

"A red sky at night
Is the shepherd's delight,
A red sky in the morning
Is the shepherd's warning."

Another common saying is :—

"Rain before seven, fine weather before eleven."

Conclusion.

It must not be assumed that all the customs mentioned above are to be found all over England. Different parts of the country have different customs or variations of the same custom. Many old beliefs are going out and new ones are coming in. Again, a custom or belief, supposed to be gone, may be found in an obscure corner of the country. Human nature being what it is, we cannot expect that at any stage of our progress in the world these superstitions will vanish.

Folklore is indeed the unwritten history of a race ; it gives us the history of many modern customs, beliefs and institutions. Thus scientific medicine came out of medical folklore and chemistry out of alchemy.

English literature is full of allusions to superstitious beliefs. Many such allusions are found in Shakespeare's plays and the works of other writers. Nowel Coward, one of the best dramatists of the day, refers to popular beliefs when he makes a character (Judith in 'Hay Fever') say, "There's going to be a thunder-storm; I felt sick in the morning." Indeed for a proper understanding of English Literature of all ages a knowledge of folklore is necessary.

S. M. CHANDA

MIR QASIM'S ATITTUDE TOWARDS THE PRIVATE INLAND TRADE OF THE ENGLISH

Before setting forth on his ill-fated expedition against Nepal, the Nawab had informed his officers of his recent agreement[1] with Mr. Vansittart in regard to the inland duties to be paid by the Company's servants. It was not only most unwise and tactless, but was a deliberate defiance of the Governor's instructions. Mr. Vansittart[2] writes, "He (*i.e.*, the Nawab) could no way have given his enemies a greater advantage than by dispatching as he did copies of my letter to all parts of the country, and enjoining his aumils to enforce the immediate observance of the regulations therein proposed, without waiting until directions in consequence were sent from Calcutta to our factories jointly, with the orders of his officers, which he delivered me for that purpose .....I did not intend the regulations should take place till general orders were sent everywhere; and the Nawab himself well knew that my orders could not take place, till joined with those of the Board, which he had therefore desired me to obtain. Of course I expected the Nawab would wait, till I could write him from Calcutta of the resolutions of the Council." The Nawab knew very well that the regulations proposed by the Governor could not be treated as final, till the Council formally ratified them, and Mr. Vansittart had made this clear to the Nawab at the time of his departure from Monghyr.[3] But, no sooner had Mr. Vansittart left, than the Nawab instructed his 'aumils' to enforce the regulations, and seize those 'gumashtahs' who refused to comply with them.[4]

1 For details *vide*, Beng. Pub. Cons., Dec. 27, 1762. Beng. Pub. Cons. Jan. 17, 1763. Beng. Pub. Cons., Jan. 20, 1763. Trans. P. L. R., Jan.-Sept. 1763, No. 1, pp. 1-3. Trans. P. L. I., 1762-3, No. 4, p. 9. Vansittart's Narrative, II, pp. 155-59.

2 Narrative, II, pp. 201-2.

3 Siyar (Lucknow Text), p. 716. Tarikh-i-Muzaffari (Alld. Univ. MS., p. 780) Mzaffar-Namah (Alla. Univ. MS., p. 336). Khulasat (J. B. O. R. S. V., p. 607).

4 Narrative, II, p. 199, Siyar, p. 718.

It has nowhere been explained why the Nawab rashly ordered the enforcement of the regulations without awaiting the final decision of the Council. A number of probable explanations can be suggested.

(*i*) The Nawab may have regarded the promise of Mr. Vansittart to procure the sanction of the Council as a sufficient justification for issuing his orders in advance. The Governor too confessed[1] in his narrative, "It was not till after my arrival in Calcutta that I suspected any objections could be made to the regulations which I had settled with the Nawab." It is quite likely therefore that the Nawab should have concluded[2] that the Governor's agreement was, for all practical purposes, final, and the Council would simply accord its formal approval to it in due course. Mr. Vansittart frankly admits,[3] I made no scruple to assure the Nawab they (*i.e.*, the regulations) should take place, especially as I conceived myself to be fully authorised by the Board to act for them on this occasion." The Nawab may be presumed to have placed an undue reliance[4] on such a hasty promise made by Mr. Vansittart.

(*ii*) Ghulam Husain suggests,[5] "He (*i.e*, the Nawab) wrote to his officers everywhere to give them notice of the agreement he expected, and to put them upon their guards; lest, meanwhile, and until the reglement should come up, the English private traders might find means to evade the custom, and the duty taxes." The author's idea is that the Nawab had not ordered the immediate enforcement of the agreement, but the imprudent, and over-zealous officers could not keep it secret, and began rashly to enforce it on their own initiative. Kalyan Singh too has echoed this view, "But his officers could

1 Narrative, II, p. 204.

2 Trans. P. L. R., Jan.-Sept. 1763, No. 9, p. 8. The Nawab wrote saying that he had imagined the gentlemen of the Council would asent to the agreement.

3 Narrative, II, p. 163.

4 Tarikh-i-Muzaffari (MS.), p. 780.

5 Siyat (Raymond's Translation, Cal. Reprint, II, p, 445). *Vide* Text, p. 716.

3 Khulasat (J. B. O. R. S. V., p. 607).

not manage the business in a tactful manner, and began to interfere in the trade of the English.''

(*iii*) The Nawab may have thought that by promptly broadcasting the agreement throughout the country he would be able to force the hands of the Council, and compel the Governor to abide by his promise at all costs.

(*iv*) It may again be that after Mr. Vansittart's departure the Nawab regretted having accepted the agreement at all. He had certainly aimed at crushing the private trade of the Englishmen; and, it is known, had very unwillingly approved of the regulations proposed by Mr. Vansittart. Could he have believed that by immediately enforcing them on the authority of the latter's letter, he would be able to ruin this trade?

(*v*) That the Nawab did not patiently await the decision of the Council may have been due to another reason. He may have thought that his dignity would be hurt, if he were to be dictated to by the Council in this matter. It was enough that he had condescended to agree to the proposed preferential treatment of the English merchants. Did he think it derogatory to his honour to wait for the Council's concurrence in the proposed settlement? As a matter of fact, the Nawab subsequently declared [1] that he had neither negotiated, nor would ever care to negotiate with the Council in the matter of the private inland trade of the Englishmen.

Not only did Mir Quasim give his officers notice of the regulations, but he also directed them to punish the defaulters severely. The over-bearing officials strictly followed these instructions, and began to tyrannize over the company's 'gumashtahs.' [2] An idea of their high-handedness can be formed from the following facts :

(*i*) Duties on even the company's cloth began to be unjustly

[1] Trans. P. L. R. Jan.-Sept. 1763, No. 9, p. 8.

[2] Siyar, p. 716. Muzaffar-Namah (MS) p. 336. Tarikh-i-Muzaffari (MS) p. 780.

demanded at different places,[1] and the Governor had to protest against this more than once.

(*ii*) The Nawab's officials, now that they were suddenly invested with extraordinary powers, at once abused them by oppressing, and even arresting the 'dallals' and weavers who supplied the company with cloth.[2]

(*iii*) Boats, notwithstanding that they were provided with the usual 'dastak' of the company, were needlessly stopped, and the delay caused in this manner obviously caused great loss.[3]

(*iv*) The Faujdar of Dacca was reported to have ordered the 'amils' to make it impossible for Englishmen to remain in the country, and punish those who had any dealings with the latter. This was a typical instance of the insolent proceedings of Muhammad Ali Beg, Faujdar of Dacca. The Governor wrote[4] in the course of his letter, "……it is his (*i.e.*, the Faujdar's) design not to suffer a single Englishman in the country, and to punish whoever shall take upon himself the name of an Englishman; accordingly the Company's business, and that of the private gentlemen, has been everywhere stopped, whereby they have been, and still are, subjected to many losses: and the agreement which was made between you and me, for the removal of the disputes between your dependents, and ours, has been entirely broken off by Mahomed Allee." It is certainly difficult to understand how the Nawab's officers could issue orders on their own account, and proclaim, by beat of drum, that the Englishmen should not be allowed to remain in the country.[5] As such complaints were reported from all parts, it is apparent that these officers must have acted under the orders of their master himself.[6]

1 Trans. P. L. I., 1762-3, No. 7 (p. 10); No. 8 (p. 12); No. 12 (p. 14).
2 Letter to the Faujdar of Dacca: Trans. P. L. I., 1762-3, No. 13 (p. 16).
3 Letter to the Faujdar of Rajmahal: Trans. P. L. I., 1762-3, No. 16 (p. 18).
4 Trans. P. L. I., 1762-3, No. 21 (p. 22).
5 Beng. Pub. Cons., 22nd Feb., 1763.
6 Muzaffar-Namah (MS.), p. 333.

(*v*) The Company had so long jealously maintained its sole monopoly of saltpetre produced in Bihar, but complaints[1] were received from Patna that the 'amils' had begun[2] to obstruct the transit of saltpetre, and oppress the 'a-samis' who supplied the Company with saltpetre.

(*vi*) The Faujdar of Rangamati was guilty of a flagrant abuse of his powers, and the council had to send a party of sepoys to arrest him.[3] It was reported that he had not only been stopping the boats at every 'ghat,' but had demanded as much duty as he pleased, and had arbitrarily plundered the 'manjhis,' and 'dandis,' besides ill-treating the peons of the Englishmen. Such violences, and extortions practised by a Faujdar were surely not uncommon, and prove either these were instigated by the Nawab, or the latter's control over his officers was extremely lax.

(*vii*) The council was further informed by Ellis[4] that the Nawab's officers in Bihar had recently demanded a duty of nine per cent. on opium, although it was exported by the Company to foreign markets. The majority in the Council resolved that the Council at Patna should send sepoys to protect their 'gumashtahs;' and the Governor had to remonstrate with the Nawab against his ordering the levy of a duty on the Company's opium.[5]

While the Nawab's officers undeniably abused their authority, and exceeded their powers, the Company's servants resisted the demand of duties fixed by Mr. Vansittart, and zealously sought to protect their trade even by resorting to force, whenever necessary. It was a peculiar situation on the whole. The officers of the Nizamat insisted on levying duties, and punishing the defaulters, while the English gentlemen refused to pay any

1 Narrative, II, p. 279.
2 Trans. P. L. I., 1762-3, No. 18 (p. 19).
3 Beng. Pub. Cons., 4th March, 1763.
4 Beng. Pub. Cons., 4th March.
5 Trans. P. L. I., 1762-3, No. 31 (p. 30).
" " " No. 34 (p. 37).

duty unless they should be called upon to do so by the Council. The result was a bitter struggle, and acts of violence were committed on either side. All this was due to the precipitate haste of the Nawab who refused to wait till the Council either ratified, or altered his agreement with Mr. Vansittart. The attitude of the English merchants has been usually condemned, and there is no doubt that they were actuated by selfish motives in their violent opposition to the demand of duties. Apart from purely personal considerations, there were, however, certain arguments in their favour :—

(*i*) It is nowhere mentioned in the Farmans that the privilege of duty-free trade was to be restricted to sea-borne trade alone, and there is no definite prohibition of inland trade therein. In short, Farrukh-siyar's grant exempted the English from the payment of duties both in their individual as well as corporate capacities, though as a matter of fact, the former Nawabs of Bengal had disallowed such an interpretation of the Farmans.

(*ii*) It was argued with reason that a sudden enforcement of the proposed regulations would be disastrous to their private trade.[1]

(*iii*) The Company's servants further refused to abide by the agreement on the ground that it had not been sanctioned by the Council.

(*iv*) They were directed by the council itself not to pay any regard to the orders which the Nawab had sent to all the factories.[2]

(*v*) There was no alternative but to use force when the rapacious officers of the government deliberately oppressed the Company's agents, and impeded its trade in a most despotic manner. Mr. Vansittart himself admits[3] in his Narrative,

[1] Beng. Pub. Cons., 17th January, 1763. (*Vide* Letter from Dacca to the council; dated 10th January, 1763.)

[2] Beng. Pub. Cons., 1st February, 1763.

[3] Narrative, II, p. 254.

"Having been long under the yoke of our gomastahs, they no sooner had a prospect of being freed from it, than they, in their turn, would rule despotically, and use their authority to unlawful purposes. This gave our subordinate factories daily opportunity of making fresh complaints to the Board of the interruption of their business."

(*vi*) They had been paying at different places duties on salt and tobacco [1] and now they were suddenly subjected to new demands which they considered to be a breach of their special privilege.[2]

(*vii*) They rightly objected to being subjected to the arbitrary demands of the 'chaukidars' who wanted to collect as much, and as many times as possible.[3]

(*viii*) They are not the only people who demanded a preferential treatment. It may be pointed out that the Muslims also enjoyed special concessions in the matter of the duties. The Nawab would certainly have been more justified in opposing the claims of the English, if he had abolished the marked differentiation in favour of his own co-religionists.

(*ix*) They came to know that the Nawab had directed his officers to show special consideration to the governor's agents [4] alone. Naturally, this formed a plausible argument against Mr. Vansittart.

The hostile majority in the Council, who were further strengthened by the arrival [5] of all absent members except the chief of Patna and Chittagong, rejected the Governor's regulations, and came to the decision that although the English were entitled by the imperial 'Farmans' to trade in country produce duty-free, the Nawab could be allowed a duty of two and half per cent., on

[1] Beng. Pub. Cons., 15th Nov. 1762.

[2] Beng. Pub. Cons., 2nd March, 1763

[3] Beng. Pub. Cons., 4th March, 1763.

[4] Narrative, II, p. 425. Trans. P. L. I., 1762-3, No. 31 (p. 30.). First Report of the Select Committee (Appendix 34).

[5] Beng. Pub. Cons., Jan. 17, 1763. (The Council Summoned all the absent members to consider the situation.)

salt only, and that the English ' gomastahs ' should not be subject to the jurisdiction of the Nawab's officials. [1]

In the meanwhile, the Nawab had been informed of the rejection of the agrement by the Council, and he indignantly protested against it in a number of letters written to the Governor. His feelings can be best understood from the following characteristic passages [2] in his letters :—

(*i*) " When you came here, an agreement in writing was made between us, which I imagined all the gentlemen would consent to; but it is amazing that not a single person has approved of it."

(*ii*) " I neither have, nor shall negotiate with any person but yourself, and therefore, I plainly write, that if you intend to regard the agreement made between us, you should act in such a manner that the gentlemen may not make their objections to it; if not advise me of it. I understand that a number of the gentlemen are inclined to establish another Subahdar. This appears to me a trivial matter. Let them establish whom they please; it is of no consequence to me."

(*iii*) " To be sure, whatever your gomastahs write is all exactly just and proper; and my people tell nothing but lies and bare-faced falsities...I must cut off my officers' heads, but your gomastahs who are gulity of oppressions receive encouragement from you."

(*iv*) "Your order is absolute with respect to my people, but you have not the least command over your own."

The attitude of the Nawab was now just as obdurate as that of the Council. He insisted that if the agreement was to be modified at all, it must be in accordance with his suggestions. He wrote [3] to Mr. Vansittart on the 26th of Feb., 1763, "you know very well, Sir, that I never intended such a treaty; it was merely

1 Beng. Pub. Cons., 1st and 2nd March, 1763.

2 Trans. P. L. R., Jan.-Sept., 1763, No. 9 (p. 8), No. 22 (p. 23), No. 23 (p. 27).

3 Trans. P. L. R., Jan.-Sept., 1763, No. 22 (p. 23).

in compliance with your pleasure that I assented to it." He now demanded three amendments to the former agreement, and these clearly show that the Nawab aimed at the virtual extinction of the English private trade. The only conclusion that one can draw from his letters is that the question of the duties was only secondary, and that he was more keen on absolutely stopping the private trade of the Company's servants. His demands were as follows [1] :—

(*i*) "From the beginning till now the Nazim of Bengal corresponded with the Governor of Calcutta, as I have done and do with you, hearing no correspondence with the rest of the Board." The Nawab meant that all his negotiation or correspondence should be with the Governor alone, and not with the rest of the Council. Had he not recently found it to his cost that the Governor's word was not law?

(*ii*) "Now, I say, that gomastahs are to trade as heretofore, in merchandize imported, and exported, and refrain from those articles of trade which interfere with the revenues due to my Government, and are a cause of disputes and the ruin of the inhabitants, and poor people." This was an unusual demand indeed! The Nawab obviously wanted to put an entire stop to the inland trade of the English gentlemen.

(*iii*) "I wish not to be concerned in a charge of so much vexation; you may be pleased to find some other to undertake it. For my part I am heartily tired of those disputes, and vexations." In short, the Nawab objected to the dual rule that would prevail, if his officers were not to control the English agents, and if the latter constantly interfered with the Government under the pretence of carrying on trade.

The Nawab's attitude appears from his letters to Mr. Vansittart, written during the months of February and March, to have undergone a complete change in regard to the whole question of the inland trade. Till recently, he had complained

[1] Trans. P. L. R., Jan.-Sept. 1763, No. 22 (p. 23).

of the loss of his custom duties, and the high-handedness of the English agents, but he now plainly demanded an absolute stoppage of the inland trade of the English, a point that has been generally ignored. He seems to have determined not to tolerate their private trade on any footing whatsoever. In order to justify his unjust demand, Mir Qasim wilfully distorted, and exaggerated the facts. The following[1] are only a few of his recent arguments against English inland trade, and these amply show how far he could be led away by sheer prejudice and hatred :—

(*i*) Every village and district in Bengal was ruined through the oppression of the English ; and the people were deprived of their daily bread.

(*ii*) Revenue collection was entirely stopped, and as the Nawab puts it, "I am a sufferer in the revenues by near a krore of rupees!"

(*iii*) If the duty of 9 per cent. was regarded exorbitant, the English gentlemen should give up their trade. Formerly, they had not traded in country produce.

(*iv*) His officers were beaten and chastised, if they dared to oppose the English agents ; and he considered his own life to be in danger.

The Nawab's fury knew no bounds when he learnt that the gentlemen of the factories not only opposed the demand of duties, but even seized his officers under the instructions of the Council.[2] It may be noted that Mr. Vansittart too had agreed to the arrest of tyrannical officers, and he defended his attitude in the following words,[3] ".....as the question was now whether the acting persons complained against should be seized, or war made directly with the Nawab himself, I concurred in the former...". The Nawab was determined not to put up with such violent proceedings, and he retaliated by ordering[4] the immediate arrest of

1 Trans. P. L. R., Jan.—Sept., 1763. No. 19 (p. 19) ; No. 14 (p. 13).

2 Beng. Pub. Cons., 22nd Feb., 1763.

3 Narrative, II, p. 314.

4 Siyar., p. 718 (Text), Muzaffar-Namah (MS.), p. 336. Tarikh-i-Muzaffari (MS.), p. 783, Khulasat (J. B. O. R. S., V, p. 609).

English agents wherever found guilty of any oppression. It was an act of sheer folly, and marked the definite commencement of that reckless policy of revenge, which ended in his ultimate downfall. Enraged at the unexpected opposition to, and defiance of, his authority, he treated the point of view of his opponents with supreme contempt, and refused to believe that his own officers were no less unscrupulous and overbearing than the English agents. The consequence was that his officers freely did whatever they liked, and the English merchants took the law into their hands just to prevent their trade from being stopped by the former. The Nawab ceased to pay any heed to the complaints against his officers,[1] while Mr. Vansittart was simply powerless to check the gentlemen of the factories. Numerous cases of conflict between the Company's servants, and those of the Nawab came to be reported in quick succession from different places.[2]

The disturbance that took place at Tajpur[3] early in March 1763, was the most serious among the innumerable cases of quarrel, that occurred at this time. The Nawab as usual distorted the facts of the incident, and held Ellis alone to be responsible for it.[4] What happened was, briefly, this. On being informed that the Company's trade in Mow was being interrupted by the Nawab's officials, Ellis sent Lieutenant Downie at the head of three companies of sepoys to Mow "with orders to clear the Company's business in that district, and seize all those who have interrupted it." The officer captured Akbar Ali, Naib of Tajpur, and brought him prisoner to Patna, having left the Company's salt petre at Tajpur in charge of a 'hawaldar,' a 'naik', and twelve sepoys.[5] In the meantime, the Nawab had ordered a body of five hundred horsemen to intercept the English

1 Trans. P. L. I., 1762-3, No. 32 (p. 34).

2 *Ibid*, No. 12 (p. 14), No. 27 (p. 28), No. 31 (p. 30), and Narrative III, pp, 32-33

3 Narrative, III, p. 34.

4 Trans. P. L. R., Jan.-Sept., No. 28 (p. 34) and No. 29 (p. 35).

5 Ellis to the Governor, March 6, 1763.

6 *Ibid*, March 15, 1763.

detachment; they arrived at Tajpur, and attacked the sepoys stationed there. Of the twelve, four were killed, three wounded and the rest, with the Company's 'gumashtah,' carried prisoners[1] to the Nawab who, being afraid to proceed to extremities reprimanded and released them.[2]

In his letter[3] to the Governor, dated March 14, the Nawab gave a highly coloured account of the incident, and alleged that it was Ellis who "has created these disturbances under pretence of the saltpetre," his 'amil' "was by no means in fault," and that when Muhammad Amin Khan "drew near to the factory your sepoys there, by order of the gomashtah, fired upon them." The Nawab not only did not admit that his 'amil' had obstructed the Company's salt-petre, but omitted to mention the fact that he had sent his 'jamadar' at the head of five hundred horse to oppose the sepoys under Lieutenant Downie. The Nawab went to the length of referring to the factors as "Your servants and men of low character."[4] All this was well calculated to intensify the Council's hatred for him. The action of Ellis in sending sepoys to protect the Company's saltpetre, howsoever arbitrary it might appear, was not unjustified, because,[5] firstly, he had acted strictly in accordance with the orders of the Council, secondly, it was useless to complain to the Nawab when he had refused to answer his letters, and listen to his complaints, thirdly, he had no remedy but to use force to free the Company's business, and finally, the Nawab had so far inspite of almost daily representation failed to direct his men not to obstruct English trade till a new agreement was concluded. The Nawab's sending of an armed force to repel the Company's sepoys was an injudicious step. Such retaliatory methods were bound to lead to a rupture. Either he should have openly

1 *Ibid.*
2 Narrative, III, p. 34.
3 Trans. P. L. I., Jan.-Sept., 1763, No. 29 (p. 35).
4 *Ibid.*
5 Beng. Pub. Cons., 24th March, 1763.

declared war against the English, or he should have graciously come to a compromise with the Council. He did neither, but by his own hasty and ill-judged actions and measures[1] he accentuated the breach between himself and the English.

In March, the Nawab executed a veritable *coup d'etat* by announcing the total remission of all duties for two years. This was an extremely shrewd decision. It has often been regarded as a memorable instance of his benevolence towards, and sympathy for the Indian merchants. That this view is untenable can be easily demonstrated. The reasons which the Nawab himself gave for suddenly abolishing all duties are as follows :—[2]

(*i*) He argued that he never got anything by collecting duties, as most of the merchants in the country could pass their goods under cover of the English 'dastaks';

(*ii*) he considered the duties to be a source of constant dispute between him and the English ;

(*iii*) he thought it would be a useless waste of money to maintain the 'chaukis' for a few poor merchants who were either too obscure to secure the protection of the English agents or too poor to afford the duties ; and

(*iv*) he wanted to encourage the merchants in general by an entire abolition of duties.

These reasons are neither convincing, nor even plausible. That the Nawab could not collect anything on account of duties is manifestly a travesty of truth. It should not be forgotten that the inland transit duties used to be farmed out. Again, the customs duties formed only a small part of the state dues ; and though a large number of merchants did successfully evade the payment of duties, it cannot be maintained that the Nawab was

[1] Siyar, p. 719.

[2] Siyar, p. 720. Tarikh-i-Muzaffari (MS.). p. 784. Muzaffar-namah (MS.), p. 336. Khulasat (J. B. O. R. S., V, p. 609). Riyazu-s-Salatin (A. S. B. Text), p. 382. Narrative, III, p. 72.

Trans. P. L. R., Jan.-Sept., 1763, No. 32, p. 41.

" " " " No. 33, p. 44.

defrauded of the most part of his dues. It would be an equally sweeping exaggeration to say that most of the merchants in the country were afforded the protection of the 'dastaks' issued by the factors. It is, therefore, difficult to believe that the 'chaukis' existed for a few poor merchants alone, whose contributions could not, according to the Nawab, repay the cost of the maintenance of those 'chaukis.' Moreover, the very fact that the Nawab abolished the duties for two years only should not be lost sight of. If he had been actuated by feelings of generosity alone, he would have remitted the duties for good in order to encourage the trade and commerce of Bengal. There is no doubt that the Nawab was far too clever to have temporarily given up his right to the duties without some definite object. It has already been pointed out that he was bent upon crushing the inland trade of the English, and that he had always looked upon their commercial activities as a potential danger to his government. He knew full well that the only reason why the factors derived huge profits out of their private trade was their exemption from duties, which gave them an unquestioned advantage over the indigenous merchants who paid heavy duties on their goods. If all duties were remitted for English and Indian merchants alike, the latter would surely be able to undersell the former, and thus ruin the trade of their foreign competitors. In fact, the Nawab could never have been unaware of this consequence of his policy. He must have known that a general remission of duties would ultimately be ruinous to the private trade of the English who could never have successfully competed with the Indian merchants, once their privilege of the 'dastak' was rendered valueless.

The abolition of duties at this juncture was not due to a sudden whim of the Nawab. There is sufficient evidence to show that he had been considering its feasibility for a long time past, and had even divulged his intention to the Governor during the latter's visit to Monghyr.[1] It was only owing to Mr. Vansittart's

[1] Messrs. Vansittart and Hastings to the Council, dated Dec. 15, 1762.

opposition that the Nawab had so long postponed the execution of his plan.[1] The Council's refusal to ratify the Governor's agreement excited the bitterest indignation of the Nawab, and he thought it highly disgraceful[2] to submit to the clamour of the hostile majority in the Council, whom he considered to be his personal enemies. The only way to escape a public humiliation was the immediate abolition of all duties, and by this means alone he could retaliate on his opponents effectively. It was consequently a very clever move. He had believed that his right to forego his own income could hardly be disputed, and that his action would eventually oblige the Council to yield to his demand of duties on English inland trade. The Nawab may also have expected that the Company too might force its servants to pay duties on their private trade in order to safeguard its own interests which would surely be adversely affected by the total abolition of duties. The majority in the Council did for obvious reasons exaggerate[3] the effect of the Nawab's declaration of free-trade on the Company's business, but their argument was essentially correct. There can be no doubt about the fact that the abolition of duties would certainly have been, at least for some time, injurious to the Company's trade in Bengal. Mr. Vansittart himself had represented to the Nawab that his proposal of taking off duties in general would "prejudice our Honourable Masters' business by enhancing the number of purchasers,"[4] although curiously enough, at the consultations of the Council he strangely defended the Nawab's action, and declared, "..... we hope the present regulation, instead of being a prejudice to the Company's business, may be an advantage to it."[5] The Governor's self-contradiction is amusing indeed. His desperate attempt to justify the Nawab's policy proved to be of no effect!

1 Beng. Pub. Cons., 22nd March, 1763.
2 Siyar, p. 719.
3 Beng. Pub. Cons., 22nd March, 1763.
4 Narrative, II, p. 160,
5 Beng. Pub. Cons., 22nd March, 1763.

Shortly after this, the intelligence arrived from Patna of an act of unprecedented violence perpetrated at Gaya[1] at the Nawab's own instigation. This was a signal proof of the fact that the Nawab was at this time not unwilling to come to a rupture with the English, and it is strange that the Council did not immediately declare war against him, as the Gaya incident was a sufficient justification for the commencement of hostilities. The facts of the case are these.[2] A 'subadar' of the Company's troops had been permitted by the Chief at Patna, and Raja Naubat Rai, Naib of Patna, to pay a visit to Gaya for religious purposes, but he was seized on mere suspicion by the Nawab's people. On being informed of this, Ellis sent fifty sepoys to release him. The latter were unexpectedly attacked under the Nawab's orders by his troops from Tikarry, and the Commander of the Nawab's troops declared on being remonstrated with by the 'subadar' that he had been ordered to cut English sepoys to pieces wherever they could be found. In the skirmish that ensued, a 'hawaldar' was killed, and a number of sepoys were wounded, while the rest managed somehow to escape to Patna after bravely defending themselves against about 4,000 of the Nawab's troops. It seems clear from the account of this affair that the Nawab was bent upon provoking the Council to a war. Only lately he had ordered an attack against the Company's sepoys at Tajpur, and had openly threatened the extirpation of the English; and the recent unprovoked attack against the English sepoys at Gaya was an unmistakable evidence of the Nawab's intention to defy the power of the English by a deliberate show of force, and thus publicly assert his independence of the Company.

NANDALAL CHATTERJI

[1] Narrative, III, p. 79.
[2] Beng. Pub. Cons., April 1, 1763.

GURU GOVIND SINGH

" Today they think of the passing things,
Of the little gains of Silver and Gold:
Not of them, democracy's early prophets,
The Gurus who taught and loved the truth,
That life is a sacrifice;
That victory is to him who builds
For the kingdom of dharma;
That martyrdom lives long after tyrants are no more."

It makes one shudder to visualize the great Guru, seated on a regal cushion, with a warrior's sword stuck to the girdle and a prophetic glory spread overhead like the sun's. And while the hawk perched on his hand gazes sted fastly around, his grave-faced master looks stern and elated over the prospects of a coming struggle. What eyes are those full of a mystic glamour! what a head full of thoughts! and underneath what a heart! High feelings worthy of a poet's, in a trance are traceable in his awe-inspiring countenance. While seated in this splendid attitude, he seems to be a foreign on-looker on the false pageants of life and the hypocrisies of the erring man.

This is the usual picture which is said to represent the great Guru Govind Singh, in his four-fold capacities, as a soldier, a prophet, a poet and a statesman.

Why is Guru Govind Singh great and what are his permanent services to humanity in the capacity of a reformer ? These are the questions that I shall very briefly deal with, in this few-worded article.

" Human strivings and uprisings, bringing the crisis of human history, are to me the echoes of personality, seeking more freedom, to express its innate longing.....It is a wrong idea to suppose that one must possess wealth or fame to become a personality. There is only one aristocracy, the aristocracy of character." These lines contain a significant truth of life.

In reviewing the life-history of Guru Govind Singh what strikes us, at the threshold, is the immense power of his personality, this " aristocracy of character, in all his actions, and reflections." It was indeed the propelling force of his inner conscience which drew forth numberless adherents to his faith, even in a generation's life time, and which inspite of his meagre resources, made him invincible to his enemies. Low-born people, despicable in mien and appearance, and rejected by their fellow-brothers as untouchable outcasts, flocked to him from all sides and were thoroughly overhauled under his proselytizing influence. Received with affection and treated with a respect that is due to man, they profited well by his preachings and personal examples. It is wonderful to notice how soon they got adapted to the civilized ways of life and became decent citizens of an organized community. Out of the same dregs of society, he created fine soldiers, well fitted to endure any hardship and so well-versed in archery and swordsmanship as to cope successfully with the Imperial army of the Moghuls. Their fighting qualities, of which courage and perseverance were more noticeable, were well recognized by the enemy, for whom gradually, the Khalsa, had become a terror and a danger of the first magnitude. This all was nothing short of a miracle.

The truth is, that he had a certain conviction within him, a conviction born of an excessive love for truth and righteousness, which made him look hard as steel and colossal as a mountain. It was a conviction in his own personality and powers which, he affirmed, were a Providential gift and therefore irresistible. Curiously enough it grew stronger within him, as the difficulties of his task increased and as his resources, in course of time, grew thinner. For instance, the Hindu Rajahs of the hills had, once, assembled as guests with Guru Govind Singh who asked them to oppose the Moghul tyranny with sword and arms. Ajmer Chand, the chief of them, thereupon replied, " Each Turk can eat a whole goat, how can we who only eat rice, cope with such strong men? Can sparrows kill hawks or jackals tiger? "

The Guru was unusually provoked by their timidity, and replied in terms, vindicative of his country's honour, " My ' Singhs,' too are permitted to eat flesh and one of them shall be able to hold his ground against one hundred thousand Turks. I will kill hawks with sparrows; O Rajah, have no anxiety. I shall make men of all four castes my ' Singhs ' and destroy the Moghuls." He continued to address them in the position of a master :" how has your religious, social, political status deteriorated, you have abandoned the worship of the true God and addressed your devotion to gods, goddesses and trees. You know not how to govern territories.....I am intensely concerned for your fallen state." And again "gird up your loins to elevate the fallen condition of your country."

It was the marvellous quality of his fearless soul which made him address the emperor Aurangzib, by way of admonishment : "Thou art seated on an Emperor's throne, yet how strange is thy justice, thy attributes and thy regard for religion! Alas a hundred times! Alas for thy sovereignty! Strange, strange is thy decree! Promises not meant to be fulfilled injure those who make them. Smite not any one mercilessly with the sword, or a sword from on high shall smite thyself. O, man, be not reckless, fear God.[12]

What a great soul it was that uttered thus !

The great Guru had long seen with a prophet's vision that in the struggle for existence, his Sikhs as a separate entity, would not survive. Owing to the political domination of the Musalmans, men's minds had grown sceptical, and they wavered from one principle to another, in consternation. The forces of disruption were already sapping the foundation of society. The present-day conditions then existing and a prospective glance over the future had assured him of the necessity of soldering his Sikhs into a nation. This seems too prodigious a task for any single life but he accomplished it within the wonderfully short space of a few years. Thus the work of reformation begun by Baba Nanak and continued uninterrupted under the successive

Gurus was brought to a happy completion under the tenth. This may aptly be called a master stroke of his genius.

A potent reason for his immense achievements in a comparatively short space of time, is found in the fact, that he sacrificed all that he possessed, including his own self, in the interests of his beloved "Panth." History of the world has not a single instance to match with the self-imposed martyrdom of all his four sons, at Chamkaur, and later on, at Sirhind at the hands of a Muhammadan Governor. During the incessant wars that he carried on with the Moghuls and the misguided Rajahs of the hills, he never spared himself, for he was always in the forefront to stir his followers by personal heroism. He was the organizing general and a fighting soldier in one.

His philosophy was a practical creed of life and hence its pragmatic value considerable. The central conception of a truly religious life which he taught, was to live for others. In thus exhorting a virtuous life, he was compulsorily led to emphasize the use of sword where lip-service did not avail. Addressing to the Sword-God he says, "Thou terrifiest evil, thou scatterest sinners." Thus he created a breach in the time-old Buddhistic tradition of non-violence and reverted to the creed of Lord Krishna who advocated war to propagate truth and extirpate evil. This constituted one of the most solid achievements of his life. As put by Professor Rakshit, he held to the four essential conditions, for the spiritual uplift of men and his final redemption.

(1) Meditation of God's name.

(2) A belief in the immense possibilities of soul and their development.

(3) Respect for Scriptures.

(4) Need of a Prophet.

And it was his special glory that he lived up to them, so as to inspire his followers with an example.

A brief review of his various divine compositions would reveal to us a different aspect of his many-coloured genius. Judged from the vast imagination, the rapid flow, the sweetness of rhythm, the additional charm of alliteration found in all his writings, he would easily rank with the greatest poets of the world. His poetry is pregnant with deep-set religious truths and is a direct address to God as the creator of man and to man as indebted to his Creator "for all that he gave." Indeed it "justified the ways of God to man" with an assertion which would banish all heresy and scepticism from the mind of the reader and convince him of the realities of life and after-life. A lofty transcendentalism is blended with human realism, so that in spite of being highly imaginative, it serves a most practical purpose. This all looks like a paradox in one whose whole life was spent "over hedges and fields, in camps and courts" and in active statesmanship.

In his private life the Guru's conduct was remarkable for its sweetness, sympathy and affection and several other benevolent virtues which he practised. The records show how he used to give bath to his folks, by his own hands. Thus "his heart," as the poet says, "the lowliest duties on himself did lay."

From beginning till end, therefore, the incidents of his life—his birth, his infancy and youth, his wars against the Rajahs and the Emperor, his sacrifices, his various scholarly compositions, and finally his death, are a series of miracles that stand unparalleled in the history of man. And his greatness was achieved, not only in great things but even in "little, unremembered acts of kindliness and love," where true greatness shines.

Of the permanent services of Guru Govind Singh to humanity, in the capacity of a reformer, we may mention the following cardinal points of a happy social and deeply religious life, that he successfully emphasized on his followers :

(1) A united Commonwealth of the people in which socialistic equality prevails.

(2) Liberation from the bondage of caste and creed.

(3) Emphasis on one-God worship as against idolatry and rituals.

(4) Evolving a new character in which virtue lies imbedded.

Guru Govind Singh has aptly been surnamed as the "Prophet of Socialism." In his last message to the faithful on his death-bed he had declared that henceforth the "Panth" obedient to the writings of the Holy Granth, was to be its own guide; and collectively, was to be held responsible for all its individual members. The Sikhs, everywhere, were to organize themselves into "Congregations" which were to elect a small inner body of five "Pyaras" or the loved ones, who were required to perform their necessary function—practically all the work of the community. Every Sikh was to form part of the corporate life of the community and he had no existence apart from it. One for all and all for one was the cardinal maxim on which the whole system was based. Bhai Nand Singh's remarks, in his lecture on Sikhism at the International Religious Conference held in America, 1915, are worth quoting :—

"Guru Govind Singh was the only man of modern India who developed the ideal of Commonwealth, in the minds of the people. After he had gone and the Sikhs got control of Northern India, there was established the Khalsa Commonwealth which worked with great success for a length of time. All the business of that Govternment was done by representatives of the whole Sikh people, in the presence of the Holy Scripture which represent our Gurus. The coin too was struck in the name of the Khalsa Commonwealth. Everything a Sikh owns is considered to be the property of the Khalsa brotherhood and each one of the Sikhs is a worker for the whole nation which has the full control of any property for the welfare of the nation according to the tenets of the faith."

A study of history shows that distinctions of caste and creed had split up the Indian society into various sections and

sub-sections, thus rendering it impotent for growth and development. Its heinous influence was seen like a shadow everywhere but little realized. The birth of a man determined his profession which, in its turn, determined his social status and even his salvation in heaven as if it were some gradable thing. A society, thus marked by gradations excluded legions of poor people who fell into the category of the untouchables, and were, thus doomed to eternal thraldom. To the lofty-minded Guru who revered the poorest of the poor as a unit of God's creation, this was a sacrilege, and a sin of such magnitude that "the greatest sins blushed before them."

As has been pointed out, he accorded to them a welcome which raised them in their own esteem, thus bringing home to them the idea of self-reverence which is the cardinal necessity of a virtuous life and as the poet says, "leads life to sovereign powers." Under the magical effect of the baptismal nectar, the "Amrit," all—high and low alike—were proselytized into "Singhs" or lions. A draught of this "Amrit" being taken, it worked in the constitution and sprit of the neophyte like a talisman, who emerged an altogether new man, strong and beautiful—defending virtue and defying opposition. "Amrit" had effected a resurrection in the entire social structure. He thus swept away all distinction of birth and worldly status and promoted a fraternal brotherhood among his people.

Thirdly, the time-worn religion of the Hindus was constantly elaborating its rituals and multiplying its gods, so that the idea of monotheism which existed with the ancients was totally lost. From a conception of the one All-pervading God and a host of deities representing various powers, there was a gradual transition to an idolatry that excluded everything else and finally came to be recognized as the sole religion by the people. This and other doctrinal-intricacies were taken advantage of by the priesthood who found, in all these, a potent weapon to keep their power intact.

It was one of the missions of the great Guru to purge the misconceiving mind of false knowledge and the counterfeit supremacy of the Brahmans. He violently condemned idolatry and discarded all observances based upon superstitious ignorance, although he was a ceremonialist, in his own way. He emphasized instead, the worship of one God who was All-powerful, Immortal and Omnipresent. Says he :

> " If for ages thou do penance to a stone, it will never rejoice thee,
> O, fool, it will never generously lift its arm to requite thee,
> Says what confidence can be placed in it ? When trouble arises
> It will not come to save thee.
>
> O, ignorant, obstinate man, be assured, that thy false religion
> and superstition will ruin the."

Finally the great Guru, in fact all the preceding Gurus, affirmed that the love of virtue that existed only as an aspiration, remained but a shallow theory. Similarly, the principles of virtue, as put down in a code for the people, remained a dead letter, because they did not secure us against temptations. The temptations, in fact, are too strong to resist unless virtue is so imbedded in our character that it becomes a part of our own person. Thus our whole mental and moral being is, so to say, "soaked" in virtue and whatever we think, conceived or act is necessarily virtuous. If the development of character along these lines is carried to perfection, there is absolutely no scope left for sin or crime. The Guru therefore not only preached the benefits of virtue and right action to his disciples. He introduced virtue in their daily programme in such a way, that it was constantly practised and looked to. There was no action, however insignificant, with which virtue did not associate itself.

GURDYAL SING WADALIA

GIACOMO MEYERBEER

The Man and His Music.

Meyerbeer was ever amazingly young, both in his music and in his outlook upon life. This we are well able to judge on any of those rare occasions when we are favoured with a composition of his from a provincial broadcasting station, or the still more rare occasion when some far-seeing band or orchestra includes his works in their programme. The strain of the German school of composers was considerably strengthened by the addition of Meyerbeer to their ranks. If not a first-rate genius he was certainly well among the best of his kind.

Born in Berlin, September 5, 1791, Meyerbeer was a prodigy almost from when he began to walk and to reason things out for himself. We are told that when only four years of age he could repeat on the piano the airs he had heard on the hand-organs in the streets. At five he received lessons from Lauska, a pupil of Clementi ; at six he appeared at his first concert ; at nine the critics spoke of him as one of the best pianists in Berlin ! Nor was his success won without endeavour and hard work ; he studied under numerous masters to perfect the art to which his soul so naturally clung, among which might be cited Clementi (mentioned above), Bernhard Anslem Weber, Abbé Vogler, and others. It was whilst he was studying at Abbé Vogler's school at Darmstadt that he had for a fellow pupil Carl von Weber.

For many years there was great emulation and friendship between Weber and Meyerbeer, which cooled off materially, however, owing to Weber's disgust at Meyerbeer's pandering to an extravagant taste. He voiced his criticisms in bitter words that were never forgiven by the erratic Meyerbeer.

Educated first as a pianist, it was some time before he found his true vocation as a composer. The glamour of Rossini's music overcame him, and foolishly enough, like many other composers, he was led to produce a number of compositions that were only poor imitations of the Italian, and which, like most other imitative works, are now entirely forgotten. Nevertheless the Italian school still exercised a strange fascination over Meyerbeer, and most of his earlier works pointed in this direction.

Meyerbeer's first work was the oratorio, "Gott und die Natur," which received such a successful performance before the Grand Duke, as to earn for him the distinctive appointment of court composer. Swayed by his success, he let his pianistic art fly to the winds ; although Moscheles, a competent judge of music and musicians, has said, that if Meyerbeer had devoted himself entirely to the piano, no one could have possibly surpassed him.

Meyerbeer's concerts at Darmstadt and Berlin were extremely successful. After these, meeting Salieri in Vienna, he was advised by him to study voice production as an essential branch-art of a rising composer. Realising the value of this excellent advice, he remained in Italy some considerable time to study the cultivation of the voice. He arrived in Vienna in the height of the fever for operas "à la Rossini" ; at once his soul and brain were afire to compose operas for the Italians. His work in the period immediately following was prodigious. In 1818 he wrote "Romilda e Costanza" for Padua ; in 1819, "Semiramide" for Turin ; in 1820, "Emma di Resburgo" for Venice ; in 1822, "Margherita d'Anjou" for Milan ; and in 1823, "L'Esule di Granata" also for Milan. Not one of these operas weathered the storm of public criticism, portions of "Semiramide" are still heard occasionally, but taking the above all round they are dead to the world of music. But they must have proved excellent practice for later work. It was not until the production of "Robert le Diable" at Paris in the year 1831, that Meyerbeer

gave us unquestionable proofs that indicated his great dramatic ability. He probably reached the height of his gifts in this direction in composing "Les Huguenots." This opera, produced in 1836, stands at the head of his works. Into this opera Meyerbeer put all his matured power. Although of great length, he manages to sustain interest right from beginning to end.

Meyerbeer returned to Venice in 1824 for the purpose of producing a new opera, "Il Crociato in Egitto," which received general approval. It had a tour and was performed in Paris in 1825, and the same year in London. This was the last of Meyerbeer's operas written in the Italian style. Although at the production of "Il Crociato in Egitto" he established a reputation as a close rival of Rossini, he struck out in an entirely different direction with his next compositions. He cannot be classified as belonging to any one national school of music, there are no clearly defined tendencies in any branch of his art. He wrote in any style that might appeal to him at the minute, whether it were Italian, German or otherwise. The reason of this is plain, he did not necessarily write for money, he was more than amply provided for by the rich banker, Meyer, who left the musician a vast fortune ; consequently he could afford to toy or experiment with any style or art-form that came under his interest. Another reason is that he became so eager to obtain public recognition that he went to any length that would bring him nearer to his ambition.

In 1827 Meyerbeer was married, and for several years enjoyed a very peaceful and happy life. The loss of two children was a very sad blow to him indeed, and led to his concentrating on the composition of church music for a year or so. His output for this period was very meagre, however, consisting only of a "Stabat" a "Miserere," a "Te Deum" and a group of eight of Klopstock's songs. But his genius was fermenting inside him preparatory to that great departure that was to make his name famous. This was the production of "Robert le Diable." But if he gained the applause of the crowd, he received only

bitter condemnation from Weber and Mendelssohn among others. In 1832, when Spontini resigned his place as chapel-master at the court of Berlin, Meyerbeer succeeded him. "Les Huguenots" was given to an enthusiastic public on February 26, 1836. In 1849 Meyerbeer returned to Paris to produce the third of his great operas, "La Prophete," which also met with amazing success. The last twelve years of Meyerbeer's life were spent in Paris. When seized with his fatal illness he was at work on "L'Africaine," and although he prayed he might be spared to finish this work it was not to be. He died May 2, 1864. Although Meyerbeer did not scale the greatest heights along with Beethoven, Mozart, etc., there are portions of his operas that it would be impossible to surpass for beauty, dramatic power and effect.

LELAND J. BERRY

RABINDRANATH AS AN EDUCATIONIST

Poets have been compared to birds of paradise, which were long believed to have no feet; and the average man thinks that whereas they have no feet, it shall be forbidden them under the strictest pains and penalties to alight and walk. "Their function is to beautify the landscape with the flash of wings." Poet Rabindranath has nevertheless alighted and walked on forbidden grounds. He was not satisfied with the educational structure of his own country; the bitter memory of his school days made him rebel against it; and he has volunteered to play the architect. The new structure that he has raised will stand as an enduring monument to Rabindranath's genius as an educationist and will serve as a beacon light, as it has already done, to many groping in the dark to find some new avenues in the field of education.

Happily, a new day is dawning in the educational world in which the child is coming to its own. The Santiniketan school of Rabindranath is one of the pioneer schools that have seen the new light. The poet first started to write a poem in a medium not of words, and drew his inspiration from the "tapoban" of ancient India. With the poet the atmosphere—the environment—has been more important than rules and methods, building appliances and all the paraphernalia of education. He brings the child into intimate touch with nature as also with some of the master minds of the East and the West. "For our perfection," says he, "we have to be vitally savage and mentally civilised; we should have the gift to be natural with nature and human with human society." The open air classes in the mango-groves with the sage-like poet teaching the children indeed remind us of the good old days of Ind. The personality of the poet—a thing that counted much in ancient Indian education—exerts a great influence on the children. He plays and sings with his boy and girl companions and acts and dances with them on the stage—a

sight for the gods to see. The Oriental dances given on the stage are in tune with the music that accompanies them and are rhythmic in character. The body and soul seems to be full of harmony and rhythm. All this is to the benefit of the body and the soul. He has tried to develop in the children the freshness of their feeling for Nature, a sensitiveness of soul in their retationship with their human surroundings, with the help of literature, festive ceremonials and also religious teaching. " We have there the open beauty of the sky, and the different seasons revolve before our eyes in all the magnificence of their colour. Through this perfect touch with nature we took the opportunity of instituting festivals of the seasons." The festivals in celebration of the different seasons of the year are unique in character and quite in keeping with the environment created by the poet. The juvenile souls throb with every passing phase of nature. " When the kiss of rain thrilled the heart, if we had still behaved with undue propriety and paid all our attention to Mathematics, it would have been positively wrong, impious. The season of the rains often brought us unexpected release from duty. Some voice suddenly would proclaim from the sky : "To-day is your holiday ! " We submitted gladly and would run wildly away. Such sympathy is so easily crushed by routine which takes no account of nature's claims.... . I do not believe in such barbarity."

Rabindranath the poet-philosopher bears some resemblance to Jean Jacques Rousseau, the political philosopher who also tried to revolutionise education. Rabindranath, like Rousseau, is the high-priest of nature, and a particular book, we mean Robinson Crusoe, has charm for both of them. But they differ in one respect. Rousseau is anti-social, while Rabindranath is just the reverse. To quote the words of the poet, " Our children began to be of service to our neighbours, to help them in various ways and to be in constant touch with the life around them." In Robinson Crusoe, the delight of the union with nature finds its expression in a story of adventure in which the solitary man

is face to face with solitary nature, coaxing her, co-operating with her, exploring her secrets, using all his faculties to win her help." Rabindranath is modern in his outlook on education in that he makes the atmosphere of his school attractive and that at the same time he has not forgotten the stern realities of life that the children will have to face some day.

Curiosity in children—the desire to know—the poet wishes to develop. In them the link between the desire to know and the actual knowing has been torn. They have never learnt how to want to know, he says,—from the beginning they are stuffed with information according to the stereotyped method, then they secure marks in examinations by vomiting forth the knowledge thus acquired. In the children, again, various tastes are cultivated, such as those for painting, music, dancing, etc. The Kalāvaban, or the house for the cultivation of fine arts, is an important annexe to the Santiniketan Asram.

Rabindranath has trusted to the presence of the spirit of freedom in the atmosphere. " Their studies, though strenuous, are not a task, being permeated by a holiday spirit which takes shape in activities in their kitchen, their vegetable garden, their weaving, their work of small repairs. It is because their class work has not been wrenched away and walled in from their normal vocation, because it has been made a part of their daily current of life that it easily carries itself by its own onward flow." Team-spirit is developed by group work, such as, scouting, social service, work for the co-operative stores and the kitchen, games, excursions, and the like.

In these days of antagonism between one nation and another and between the classes and the masses, the poet's clarion call for human unity is heard in Santiniketan, the abode of peace. The Biswabharati or the Santiniketan University is inspired by the ideals of the ancient University of Nalanda, where Huen Chwang, the famous Chinese traveller drank deep at the fountain of learning. Scholars from the East and the West as well have responded to his call and have participated in the work he has been doing.

The presence of this noble band of workers, inspired by one common object, shows that there is no colour bar in the republic of education and augurs well for the future of mankind. Santiniketan seems to be the meeting ground of the East and the West, for which consummation the poet is patiently waiting.

Self-government, which is more or less prominent in most of the pioneer schools of Europe and America—not to speak of the now defunct Junior George Republic of Freville, U. S. A.—is a dominant feature of Rabindranath's school. As we have already said, the children do much of the work themselves and even clear the night-soil at least one day in the year—the Gandhi-day. This engenders a spirit of self-help among the young learners, and the dignity of labour is brought home to them in a most practical way.

The Sreeniketan at Surul is a later addition to the Bolpur school. This institution with its various activities such as agriculture, carpentry, tanning, poultry, etc., shows that the poet is not oblivious of the modern conditions of life. Here the poet has come down upon the material plane, so to say. The Sreeniketan may be likened to the modern side of the Oundle school, a great public school of England. Surul also lends its support to the principle of the self-supporting educational colonies of Switzerland.

Rabindranath is not blind to what is going on in the West in the domain of education. He has lately been to Europe and has seized the opportunity of studying the Soviet system of education in Russia. He is permeated by a spirit of eclecticism, and he has not been slow in engrafting new twigs—no matter whether they be from the West—on to his original plant. The Santiniketan is a synthesis of the old 'Asrama' ideal and the modern ideal of education. Rabindranath will live for all time to come not only as a literary genius but also as one of the pioneers of education who have had to fight against enormous odds to better the lot of children in schools and, for the matter of that, to better the world.

BHUPENDRANATH SIRKAR

THE CONCEPTION OF COSTS

Adam Smith gives a theory of natural price.[1] The natural price of a commodity, he says, is equal to its cost of production and market prices gravitate toward the natural price. All economists belonging to what is known as the English classical school upholds this theory. They all agree that it is cost of production that determines the natural price of goods, but their views as to what this cost of production stands for differ in certain important respects.

Adam Smith himself gives two interpretations of cost, and the economists who followed him were more or less influenced by his concepts. According to Adam Smith the cost of everything is to be measured in terms of labour. But in one place he refers to cost as standing for the quantity of labour that is required for the production of a commodity and in another context he refers to cost as standing for the quantity of labour that a commodity can command in exchange. It is easy to see that these two are not equivalent expressions. The quantity of labour bestowed on the production of a commodity may not be equivalent to the quantity of labour that the commodity commands in the market. This apparent contradiction in Smith's statements regarding cost is, however, easily explained. As Von. Wieser points out, Adam Smith really gives two theories of value, one ' philosophical ' and the other ' empirical.' In his philosopical account of the theory of value he imagines a primitive, ' rude ' state of society in which land is not appropriated and capital is not accumulated. In that imaginary society the

[1] The term ' price ' is used by Adam Smith as synonymous with value which is a relation between commodities. Neither Adam Smith nor Ricardo recognised the distinction between value and price. In John Stuart Mill's *Principles* we find the distinction sharply drawn. By the price of a thing he understands its value in money and he appreciates that there is such a thing as a general rise of prices, though there is no such thing as a general rise of values.

value of goods is regulated by their cost in labour. Here labour is conceived of as disutility cost, 'the toil of the body.' 'It is a metaphysical concept. Later on, however, he abandons this metaphysical analysis and as he comes to describe the cause of value in the actual society he finds that the cost of production which determines value is not the cost of labour alone. There are other items that enter into that cost. In actual life, in 'the improved society,' as he calls it, where lands have been appropriated and capital accumulated there are three factors that make up the value of a commodity, wages, interest and rent. But all the same they are to be measured in terms of labour. 'Labour alone, never varying in its own value, is alone (*sic*) the ultimate and real standard by which the value of all commodities can at all times and places be estimated and compared.' (*Wealth of Nations*, edited by Cannan, p. 35.) He examines the claim of money or corn to be a universal standard of value and rules them out. Gold and silver like corn or any other commodity vary in their value and they cannot be an accurate measure of the value of commodities just as "the natural foot, fathom, or handful which is continually varying in its own quantity, can never be an accurate measure of the quantity of other things." (*Ibid*, p. 35.) In an improved society, therefore, it is not the quantity of labour that is directly bestowed on the production of goods but the quantity of labour that they command in the market that measures their value. And this latter quantity is composed of wages, interest and rent. "The real value of all the different component parts of price..... is measured by the quantity of labour which they can, each of them, purchase or command. Labour measures the value not only of that part of price which resolves itself into labour (wages ?) but of that which resolves into rent and of that which resolves itself into profits." (*Ibid*, p. 52.) This is Smith's empirical account of value, a theory of value as he finds it in actual life. It must be noticed that in his empirical account he analyses cost from the point of view of an individual

entrepreneur. It is therefore known as the law of entrepreneurs' costs.

Malthus follows up the empirical account. Thus in his theory of value cost of production of a commodity is conceived of as the amount of labour that the commodity can purchase. According to Malthus costs of production—' elementary costs ' as he calls them to distinguish them from money-costs—signify conditions of supply and include profits and rent. Conditions of supply of commodities stand for "the advance of the quantity of accumulated and immediate labour necessary to their production, with such a percentage upon the whole of the advances for the time they have been employed as is equivalent to ordinary profits." Further, "if there be any other necessary conditions of the supply arising from monopolies of any description, or from taxes, they must be added." (*Definitions*, p. 242.) Here he includes rent in the conditions of supply, for rent is that which is due to the natural agents and these are regarded as a monopoly. Speaking of the measure of conditions of supply, that is to say, of the elementry costs of production he states that they are measured by the quantity of labour for which the commodities will exchange, when it is in its natural or ordinary state." (*Ibid*, p. 242.) And this is the measure of the natural value of a commodity, for natural value is equal to the elementary costs of production.

Ricardo, on the other hand, adheres to the philosophical account and takes labour cost in the sense of disutility cost as the regulator of value. He dismisses the ' labour command measure' of Adam Smith and Malthus and suggests that the relative value of commodities is determined by the relative ' quantity of labour ' required to obtain them, that ' every increase of the quantity of labour must augment the value of that commodity on which it is exercised as every diminution must lower it.' It is only when the reward of the labourer is exactly proportional to what he produces that the quantity of labour bestowed on a commodity and the quantity of labour which

that commodity would command in the market are equal and in that case either may serve as a measure of the variations in the value of commodities. But as they are not equal we have to refer to the quantity of labour, as that is 'under many circumstances an invariable standard.' He then explains why the quantity of labour and the reward of labour do not vary in the same proportion: "In the same country double the quantity of labour may be required to produce a given quantity of food and necessaries at one time, that may be necessary at another, and at a distant time; yet the labourers' reward may be possibly very little diminished. If the labourers' wages at the former period were a certain quantity of food and necessaries, he probably could not have subsisted if that quantity had risen 100 per cent. if estimated by the *quantity* of labour necessary to their production, while they will scarcely have increased in value, if measured by the quantity of labour for which they will exchange." (Ricardo's Works: Mc Cullock's Edition, p. 12.) What are then the constituent elements of cost? According to Ricardo they are not wages, profits and rent as such, but the quantity of labour represented by the different factors which yield these incomes. As rent is an income from natural agents which do not require labour for their production, rent forms no part of cost of production.

In Cairnes we find an ardent exponent of this theory and in his work is found also the clearest exposition of how the ultimate elements of costs are not concrete incomes of the different factors but something purely abstract and metaphysical. Cost, he says, means 'sacrifice' and not 'reward,' so that the analysis of cost of production resolves it into three 'ultimate elements,' namely, Labour, Abstinence and Risk. The first indicates the sacrifice borne by 'those who take a personal part in the business of production.' In estimating this sacrifice he takes account of three circumstances,—the duration of exertion, the degree of its severity and the risk of injury. Skill, so far as it is not acquired, is ruled out, for it represents a monopoly and is to be treated

like natural agents; and acquired skill merely represents a sacrifice either in the form of labour or in the form of abstinence, Cairnes calls Ricardo's analysis of cost defective because the latter took account of a single circumstance in estimating labour, namely, the duration of the exertion. In fact regard must be had to other circumstances, too. Labour implies a sacrifice and hence a greater cost not merely in proportion as it is of larger duration, but also in proportion as it is more severe and more liable to accident. Therefore, so far as the labour element of cost is concerned, commodities exchange " not simply in proportion to the quantity of labour employed in their production, but in proportion to this multiplied by the severity of the labour and the risk attending it." (*Leading Principles of Political Economy*, p. 83.) The second circumstance, that of abstinence, represents a sacrifice involved in the advance of capital and consists, as its negative aspect, chiefly in the " deprivation or postponement of enjoyment, implied in the fact of parting with our wealth so far at least as concerns our present power of commanding it ; " and, as its positive aspect, a small degree of risk. The third element, that of risk, represents a sacrifice which falls upon both the labourer and the capitalist.

John Stuart Mill's theory of value is a blending of the two accounts. In general he accepts the quantity-of-labour measure of costs, but in reckoning costs from the point of view of the capitalist he takes into account the reward of labour. "What the production of a thing costs to its producer or its series of producers is the labour expended in producing it." (*Principles of Political Economy*, Bk. III, Chap. IV, p. 558.) This is a purely metaphysical concept of costs. " The value of commodities," he further says, " depends principally on the quantity of labour required for their production, including in the idea of production, that of conveyance to the market " (*ibid*, p. 559). So far his definition of costs practically coincides with that of Ricardo. But looked at from the standpoint of the capitalist, cost does not stand for the quantity of labour alone, for " since the cost of

production to the capitalist is not labour but wages, and since wages may either be greater or less, the quantity of labour being the same; it would seem that the value of the product cannot be determined solely by the quantity of labour, but the quantity together with the remuneration; and that values must partly depend upon wages." In its social aspect, however, cost has little to do with wages. If, for example, there is a simultaneous increase or decrease of wages everywhere the relative position of different commodities remains the same and value remains unaffected, for value after all is a relation between commodities. Thus he observes, " in considering...the causes of the variations of value, the quantity of labour is the thing of chief importance, for when that varies, it is generally in one or a few commodities at a time, but the variations of wages are usually general, and have no considerable effect on value." (*Ibid*, pp. 553-54.)

In the analysis of cost he takes account of abstinence too; for, besides labour there is another requisite of production,—capital, which is the result of abstinence. But capital is not essentially distinct from labour, as it is ultimately resolvable into labour. In reckoning abstinence as a component element of cost he was anticipated by Senior who defines cost of production as the " sum of the labour and abstinence necessary to production." Senior uses the term ' cost ' in two senses: (1) the cost of production on the part of the producer, the minimum below which the value cannot fall, and (2) the cost of production on the part of the consumer, the maximum beyond which the value cannot rise. In either case cost stands for the ' sum of labour and abstinence.' Under conditions of equal competition the cost of production to the producer coincides with that to the consumer, so that the value of a commodity is equal to the " sum of the labour and abstinence which its production requires." (*Political Economy*, p. 102.) This is the fundamental concept of cost with which he starts. Later on, however, he measures cost by wages and profit " which must be paid to induce the producers to continue their exertions."

The analysis of cost given by Mill and Senior thus bears marks of Ricardo's influence; for, if they have developed an empirical account of value they have done it against a metaphysical background. Mention need not be made of Ricardo's contemporaries, McCullock and James Mill in whose theory of value the philosophical account looms so large. It appears, therefore, that Prof. Whitaker underestimates the influence of Ricardo's subjective account of cost and value upon later economic writings when he says that "in the progress of thought of English economists upon value the 'philosophical' labour cost account becomes more and more attenuate, until in the *Principles* of Professor Marshall, nothing remains of it but a note on 'Ricardo's Theory of value.'" (*History and Criticism of the Labour Theory of Value*, p. 14.) In fact, as we shall presently see, in his analysis of costs, Marshall keeps intact the essence of Ricardo's theory; and though he develops an empirical account and measures cost by the amount of outlay on the part of the producer together with normal profits, he has his eyes fixed on real costs. By 'real costs' of a commodity he means "the exertions of all the different kinds of labour that are directly or indirectly involved in making it; together with the abstinences or rather the waitings required for saving the capital used in making it." Emphasis is thus given on 'sacrifice' rather than on 'reward.' But he is conscious of the fact that real costs refer to forces which are for the most part quantitatively unmeasurable, and for measuring costs for practical purposes he takes into account the reward of the 'efforts and sacrifices' in terms of money. Real costs relate to 'states of consciousness' and are not susceptible of direct measurement. They have therefore to be measured through their outward manifestations. But although his immediate concern is with money-costs, his ultimate concern is with real costs. Money-cost is referred to when the problem is studied from the point of view of the entrepreneur. From the point of view of society, however, real cost is more significant. As Marshall points out, real cost,

though quantitatively unmeasurable is qualitatively important in our enquiry from the social point of view as to " whether the cost of obtaining a given result is increasing or diminishing with changing economic conditions." The measurement of costs through outward manifestations is very often misleading if a broader view is taken ; very often it is found on analysis that things are not what they seem. Thus Marshall writes :

" In the discussion of social problems, it is often necessary to inquire whether certain businesses which may or may not be adequately remunerative to the persons concerned, are worth what they cost to the country or the world : and in this connection the term cost of production refers to real cost..... Thus the work of very young children in factories, even though paid for in money at the full market rate, is seldom worth its real cost : the satisfactions which are derived from its contributions to production, are not worth the social cost of child-life spent in grievous and depressing toil, and without an adequate education to prepare for the duties of after-life " (*Industry and Trade*, Bk. II, Chap. I, sec. 2, p. 183). Indeed if the welfare of society is the ultimate end we have in view, we have to look below the surface and study the working of real forces,—the sum-total of utility and disutility arising out of social, psychological as well as physical reactions. It is this that Marshall has his eyes on. There is that ' metaphysical *odor* ' in his system. To say, therefore, that Marshall gives an empirical account of value except in his note on Ricardo's Theory of Value is confusing Marshall's system with the system of Prof. Cassel. It is Prof. Cassel who carries the empirical account to its logical conclusion. He takes an entirely pragmatic view of economic phenomena and constructs a theory of price which is independent of the theory of value and in which the subjective element is totally absent. He does not see why the question of value or of real cost comes in when everything in actual life is measured by money. Money plays the dominating rôle in his system. By cost he means money-cost which represents the outlays in money and this consists of money

wages, money interest and money-rent. These different incomes, the prices of factors of production as also the price of the finished commodity are results of what he calls 'the pricing process.' Cost, he says, is an expression of scarcity and means "the sum of prices that actually has to be paid." (*Fundamental Thoughts in Economics*, p. 117.) Prof. Cassel is a lover of simplicity and by taking things at their face-value he makes the task of the economist easier, but it seems the analysis remains incomplete, and does not give us the whole truth. A more searching analysis of social problems is needed. It is this search for 'subtle truths' that has led Marshall to place the non-human factors of production on a different footing from the human factors, so far as the analysis of costs is concerned. The former do not but the latter do involve 'efforts and sacrifices' which are the real tests of social cost.

Entirely different is the angle from which the problem of cost is viewed by Jevons and some Austrian Economists. To them 'cost' is not an expression of anything which is absolute; on the contrary, it implies a comparison of what is, with what might be, and thus expresses the actual in terms of the potential. The idea of cost, according to them, presupposes an existence of alternative uses. Thus the cost of labour in a particular occupation is not the absolute measure of the labourers' 'toil and trouble' in that occupation, but it stands for the amount of utility that is surrendered on account of its being tied up in that particular occupation at the expense of other alternative occupations. Similarly land in so far as it is capable of being used for alternative purposes involves cost in any particular use, and this cost is measured by the amount of service which it might have rendered in other alternative directions. The classical economists with all their difference have this in common that they take cost to represent *positive* disutility; some of them measure it directly, others measure it through reward. But according to Jevons and the Austrian economists cost does not represent positive disutility but a negation of utility. In order to measure the cost of X they

take account of the utility of Y, when X and Y are two open alternatives for which the factors might be applied. Wicksteed, an exponent of the Jevonian point of view says that the cost of production of a thing is "simply and solely the marginal significance of something else." It is all a choice between alternatives, and as the guiding principle of the administration of resources is equalisation of utility at the margin of all commodities, the utility of that alternative which is surrendered is taken as the basis of the computation of cost of that alternative which is actually chosen. It is only when a particular factor admits of a single use that it cannot be regarded in this sense as involving cost. The factors which do not admit of alternative uses are called 'monopoly goods' as distinct from 'cost goods.' (Von Wieser, *Natural Value*, p. 175.) Von Wieser thus suggests that Ricardo's proposition that rent does not enter into costs holds good when land admits of a single use, but loses its applicability as the uses of land multiply. (*Ibid*, p. 209.)

Such a concept of cost might be fruitful for an analysis of the psychological phenomena making for any equilibrium when the conditions for the equilibrium are given : because when those conditions are stationary and the resources are limited, equilibrium is conceived as the resultant of a process of apportionment of the resources among alternative uses through which the returns from equal amounts of resources are equal in all directions. But this negative interpretation of cost though fruitful for this purpose cannot be said to be essential ; for, the rival method of approach also gives the correct explanation of an equilibrium. The Austrians would say that in equilibrium the total *utility* is *maximum* ; but we might as well view it from the opposite angle and say that the distribution of resources among different uses leads in equilibrium to the total *disutility* being *minimum*. Besides, this concept is of little use when we extend the principle of cost to problems of international trade or of non-competing groups. As we have seen Wieser classifies productive agents into 'monopoly goods' and 'cost goods.' The

income from 'cost goods,' he says, enters into cost, and the income from 'monopoly goods' does not, no matter whether these goods are reproducible or irreproducible. In fact, however, if any of the monopoly goods are reproducible their income has much to do with their supply and hence with the cost. Take, for example, the labour of a non-competing group. As the group has a single use and cannot be transferred to competing uses, Wieser would say that their wages are not a part of cost. But suppose their wages fall below or rise above the real cost which their labour represents, will not their supply be affected? Yes, and in so far as the supply is affected by the income which they receive, it forms a part of the cost of the commodity which our non-competing group produce. Hence, in order to examine whether the sacrifice owing to a particular productive agent forms a part of cost we have to see, as the classical economists do, if it is reproducible or irreproducible, and not whether it has a single use or alternative uses. Then again, if we give up the classical method of taking cost to represent an absolute quantity of pain we cannot have an idea of social cost which is important from the point of view of welfare economics. According to the other method, as we have seen, the cost of one thing is to be measured in terms of the utility of another thing that might be chosen as an alternative. If we take cost in this sense, we cannot measure social cost without committing the fallacy of *petitio principii*. In fact the method is meant for measuring individual costs; and its exponents have the individual aspect in view, while the classical economists lay more stress on the social aspect. As Hadlay remarks, cost as a lapse of opportunity is 'the reversal of private capital,' and cost in the sense of pain is 'the reversal of public capital.' (*Quarterly Journal of Economics*, Vol. II.)

Marshallian concept of cost is thus sharply opposed to the Austrian concept, and in recent times there has been some talk over this conceptual divergence. Now, what is this divergence due to? As Prof. Robbins points out it is due, above all, to a

fundamental difference of outlook on equilibrium. (*Economic Journal*, June, 1930.) Jevons and the Austrians start in their study of equilibrium with the hypothesis that economic conditions including factors of production are stationary. Within these stationary conditions equilibrium is attained, they say, when the resources are distributed among alternative uses in such a way that marginal returns are equalised. Production has been compared by Bohm-Bawerk to a 'giant pump.' "Every branch of want has its separate pipe sunk down to the great reservoir of productive powers, and competes with all other branches of want in trying to draw its supply by suction from that reservoir." (*Positive Theory of Capital*, p. 230.) But as the reservoir contains fixed quantities of productive powers, their employment in one branch of want means that the other branches are deprived. In the struggle among the competing branches, the fittest survives, and the productive powers are carried off by those that have stronger powers of suction. This increases the supply and lowers the marginal utility of the stronger alternatives and reduces the supply and raises the marginal utility of the others until a stage is reached at which they coincide with one another. That is equilibrium. Marshall's conception of equilibrium, on the other hand, is one "in which the condition of stationariness is the resultant of a balancing of forces tending to change." (See *Economic Journal*, June, 1930, pp. 206-207.) Marshall does not assume a fixed supply of factors of production as a condition of equilibrium. He fixes his mind on some central point where economic forces have come to rest ; but the variability of those forces is recognised. The forces themselves tend to change, but equilibrium is reached as a result of a balance between these forces. (See *Principles*, 7th Edition, p. 369.) The forces are those of demand and supply,—of utility and disutility. Cost is thus regarded as representing positive disutility to be set off against the opposite force, utility.

The Imputation Theory of Distribution given by the Austrians is a necessary corollary of their equilibrium concept.

They assume a fixed supply of productive agencies as a condition for stationary equilibrium and finds that the causal relation runs from the price of consumption goods to the price of production goods,—that consumption goods get their value from utility, or more properly, marginal utility, and production goods get their value derivatively from that of the finished product. This theory runs counter to the classical theory. According to the classical economists it is cost which determines the value of finished goods, and they look upon factors of production as the elements which go to form the costs of production. Thus while the classical economists consider the value of consumption goods as being determined by production goods, the Austrians turn the relation between them the other way about and consider the value of production goods as being determined by the value of consumption goods. Marshall, however, teaches us that as between utility and cost or between value and distribution the relation is one of reciprocal dependence. Thus he says, "...in the problem of normal value, the various elements govern one another *mutually*, and not *successively* in a long chain of causation." (*Principles*, 7th Edition, p. 816.)

It seems to me that in the study of equilibrium Jevons and the Austrian economists had a short-period view of things while Marshall had a long-period view. Marshall looks upon the 'valuing process' as a continuous, long-period process under which the factors of production, *in so far as their supply is variable*, affect and at the same time are affected by the value of the goods they produce. The other economists referred to, on the other hand, analyse the phenomena of particular moments in relation to which we have a fixed supply of productive agencies. Thus Jevons observes, "...labour once spent has no influence on the future value of any article: it is gone and lost for ever. In commerce, bygones are for ever bygones; and we are starting clear at each moment, judging the values of things with a view to future utility." (*The Theory of Political Economy*, p. 178.) But then, we must not lose sight of the fact that a short period

like that precludes the possibility of such an adjustment as would bring about an equalisation of marginal returns in all directions.

The importance of a study of the different interpretations of cost is that the concept of cost has produced far-reaching effect upon other economic theories. We have noticed in the course of our analysis how the different conceptions of costs influenced the theory of rent and price. In other fields, too, economists starting with different conceptions of costs gave different theories. In fact, an appreciation of the two standpoints regarding cost taken by the classical economists on the one hand and the Austrian economists on the other is a clue to a clear understanding of the difference that exists among them in regard to the general theory of value and distribution. This aspect of the question has a very wide scope and I refrain from introducing it in the present paper.

AMIYA KUMAR DAS GUPTA

Reviews

"**A Wonder for Wise Men**" by Wallace B. Nichols (Ward Lock & Co., 3*s*. 6*d*. net 1930) and "**Torryzany**" also by Wallace B. Nichols (Ward Lock & Co., 5*s*. net, 1932) are two notable works of fiction in which the story, admirably told with the imaginative skill of a poet of established reputation, is set in the reign of King Henry VII of England who was, in Bacon's language, "a wonder for wise men." Mr. Nichols made his mark as a really good poet by such works as "*Jericho Street and Selected Poems*," "*Prometheus in Piccadilly*," "*The Song of Sharruk*," "*Earl Simon*" (a trilogy) and tried successfully his hand in the other medium in his novel called "*Brittle Glory*" distinguished for readable plot, fine character-painting and good style.

"*A Wonder for Wise Men*" really aims at a psychological study of the character of Henry VII on the background of historical details and the writer's idea is indicated in the Prefatory Note where he says—"In the following novel I have endeavoured to present historical facts as clearly and truthfully as seemed to me necessary in what is primarily a work of the imagination and not a scrupulous study of the period for students. Chronology has not been unduly strained, nor have the principal events been distorted." The Prefatory Note to "*Torryzany*" further explains the idea behind these two historical novels where we are told that "the outlines of the story that follows are entirely true to fact; certain of the details, however, are from the mint of poetry and the imagination. * * * Part of the book is set in the latter years of Henry VII, and to that extent *Torryzany* may be considered as a complement, though not specifically a sequel, to my previous book *A Wonder for Wise Men*, the setting of which was laid in the earlier years of the same reign. But, though a certain number of the characters from that book stray into the pages of this, the present story has an entirely separate entity, even though both books together may form—in their writer's own mind at any rate—a single presentation of a period of thirty-seven years, namely from 1485 to 1522, and are essentially the fruit of the same creative impulse."

There is a reference to the master artist Torrigiano at page 206 of the first novel in a conversation between Northiam and Sir Reginald Bray.

The principal characters that are common to both the books are Henry Tudor himself, Sir Reginald Bray, Edmund Northiam and his

wife Averill and their servant Long Rafe and the period was the most difficult and stirring time in the aftermath of the devastating Wars of the Roses. It was also the critical juncture of two momentous stages in the history of England—of the fast vanishing age of feudalism and chivalry and of the approaching one of modern civilisation based on commercial prosperity and slowly developing industrial life. The complexity of life pertaining to such changing times is delineated in these two historical novels by the author with an admirable dramatic gift and a thorough grasp of significant details. The task before King Henry was very onerous and difficult. He had to see to it that Yorkists and Lancastrians as such ceased to exist in England and might be replaced by simple Englishmen instead. Henry VII was in a true sense of the word the founder of a new England—" in which foundation he will have the merchantry, the men of gown against the men of mail, at his back" and in which though the nobles were still feudal and warlike his main endeavour was to set up "his own central authority over the industrious of his people rather than over the well-born of them" for "the industrious belonged to the present, the well-born to the past" (page 203, *A Wonder for Wise Men*). This is how Henry Tudor is made by the author to philosophize while addressing Bray and Northiam—" We stand just now over the threshold of a new time and I have laid bases for a new estate in this realm, the money-maker, a midway class between noble and peasant, and have puffed him up beyond his proper importance that might have a bulwark against those king-makers and king-breakers ever to be found among headstrong peers." (*Torryzany*, page 146.)

The plot is here very skilfully constructed so that the reader's interest never flags at any point of the whole narrative and some of the episodes introduced possess the special charm of a fascinating romantic spirit of adventure. As instances, we may point out Northiam's ride in pursuit of Tunstall (Chapters I and II, Part III of *A Wonder for Wise Men*) or his embassy to the French King in the disguise of a Bohemian described at some length under the heading of " A Masque of Gypsies " (Chapters IV and V, Part IV).

The historical background is ably worked out with as much detail as is needful for a convincing picture and the figures of Henry Tudor, Bishop Morton, Lady Elizabeth (the king's betrothed and the future queen and her mother Queen Elizabeth Woodville, Sir Reginald Bray, the Oxford priest Richard Simon, Henry's old enemy Margaret Duchess of Burgundy, The Earl of Lincoln, Lord Lowell, the pretender Lambert Simnel—all are made to move and act appropriately on this mighty stage.

Mr. Nichol's powerful imagination recreates the past with its mediaeval setting of men, manners, beliefs, superstitions and institutions and the modern reader feels that he is in a world of living realities, however strange the environment may be. The fifteenth century is made to live over again before our very eyes.

The writer's wonderful dramatic power of revitalizing the past enables him to reproduce with great skill the spirit of fifteenth century England. We particularly appreciate such arresting scenes as are pictured, for example, in the coming, one after another, of the last Plantaganet King Richard and the first Tudor King Henry to Edmund Northiam's semi-delapidated castle of Basset Flammel (Chapters I and V of Part I) or in the description of a battlefield in the days of chivalry (Chapter III, Part III) or in the sombre and weird delineation of the death scene of Catherine Northiam (Chapter I, Part IV).

Mr. Nichols is equally successful in the dramatic delineation of character. We have before us Henrry VII, astute, sagacious, reserved, cautious, wisely clement, parsimonious, deeply politic and a protector of the arts and crafts of the day and a magnificent builder as of the famous new chapel of the Abbey Church at Westminster. Long Rafe Kyrbithere, Sir John Spane's retainer and archer, is a superb creation, courageous, faithful, reliable in emergency, a man of varied and extensive experiences in whom lurks the solid worth of a true man under a rough and rude exterior. Equally interesting in a different way is the royal physician Benedict Pan who is proud of being more a poet and a philosopher than a healer of men and who pours out volubly his amusing romantic and sentimental reminiscences in an incessant chatter heightened with snatches of songs and quotation of Latin tags. His perpetual dread of his wife, his own dear Carola, brings out the comic side of his character even though we are assured by him of his life having been of the nature of a romaunt.

There is Sir John Spane's young daughter Averill Spane with whom Northiam is in love—golden beauty in attendance upon the future queen Lady Elizabeth—who ultimately becomes united in a romantic fashion with Northiam.

We are struck by the superb beauty of the young camp-girl Zella who makes an immediate impression on Northiam and is a tragic figure with a hopeless love for Northiam. Her pathetic death makes a strong appeal to our heart.

King Henry VII was essentially peaceloving and there is an eloquent advocacy of pacifism in this book (pages 28, 55, 156, and Chapter II of Part IV specially page 212).

Torryzany is full of more strange and stirring adventures of the Florentine sculptor-artist and worker in bronze and terra-cotta in the three different countries of Italy, England and Spain. His real name is Pietro Torrigiano but Torryzany "was the nearest sound to his name that the average English lips could fashion" (p. 159).

The opening line of the novel that "every man is the puppet of his own character" may well serve as the motto of the whole story.

We are first introduced in this historical novel, before the close of December, 1502, to a group of Cesare Borgia's officers amusing themselves with dice or story-telling at a small Adriatic seaport not far from Sinigaglia. A fisherman's wonderfully beautiful young daughter, Rosa Zangra, picked up by a band of young aspirants to poetic fame bent on convening a Court of Love and a Day of the Arts and sing the praise of this "Eleusinian beauty and enthrone her as the Rose of the Seashore, is suddenly overtaken by Borgia and his captain and removed to Sinigaglia recently conqured by Borgia. Here we come across Michelangelo of the Buonarroti, Leonardo da Vinci and Niccolo Machiavelli among others. The Trap at Sinigaglia (Chapters IV and V, Part I) gives a vivid account of the horribly brutal ways of the whimsical tyrant and sensualist Cesare Borgia. Rosa Zangra is saved from Borgia's clutches by the artist-soldier Torrigiano then in Borgia's service and her secret yet deep and genuine love for her saviour lends an enchanting touch to the history of the Florentine artist's life.

Like Zella's for Northiam in the first of these two novels, Rosa Zangra's is a passionate yet silent and hopeless love for Torryzany and the final end of these two unfortunate girls, as depicted by our author, is too intensely pathetic and touches the most tender chord in the reader's heart.

The attempt to rescue Joan, the young daughter of the master bronze-worker, Easterfield, with whom Torryzany was a lodger while in London, from Black Rob Simlin, once an apprentice with Easterfield and Joan's rejected suitor, provides an eerie episode of strange adventures in Torryzany's encounter with Black Rob's comrades, an organised fraternity of heath-thieves (Chapter VI, Part II). This scene furnishes evidence also of the conditions of lawlessness still prevailing in the countryside after the Wars of the Roses. The death scene of Henry VII is also described in Chapter X, Part II, with vivid dramatic touches. Occasion is artistically created also for the introduction of two very fine stories described with rare skill. One of these—the tale of his own beard—is told by Long Rafe in his racy English when he sits as a model for Torryzany's sketch-head in clay of St. Jerome's head and the second is narrated after supper by the

Spanish Chaplain of the Duke of Arcos, Father Hernandez, to Northiam's daughter, called "The friend of Don Teleo" and is full of horror and thrills.

Through the friendly intercession of Sir Reginald Bray and Northiam, the great Italian sculptor at last had the highest opportunity of his life when King Henry first commissioned him for making his head and shoulders in bronze, then for the design of a Sarcophagus for his dead Queen and himself, and Henry VIII the tomb and effigy of Margaret of Richmond (the mother of Henry VII), and finally when he achieved his immortal masterpiece—the magnificent tomb of Henry VII and his Queen in the royal chapel of Westminster Abbey on which he spent six years from 1512 to 1518.

The author's reflections on Torrigiano's work are worth quoting:— "The mingled exultances and despairs of creating—for the production of a work of art is in the nature of a tribulation, and no pleasant pastime—wore Torrigiano as a long campaign will wear even the most veteran soldier." The inner spirit of an artist's nature is laid bare with dramatic vividness in another passage of great force where we read— "The prelude to success is often more difficult for the creative spirit to bear with equilibrium than either the success itself or the previous heart-burning of failure. It is as though that part of the intention which, in an artist, is prophetic suffers its reaction rather in subconscious forecasting than in conscious retrospect."

There is an element of sublime beauty in the sacred flame of love that silently burns in the passionate heart of this great artist for his friend Northiam's wife, Averill. With him it is something like a spiritual devotion to an ideal cherished quietly in the deeper recesses of his being. Only once at last he bursts out in a fervent appeal to her in burning words like these:—

"Is it more ill in *me* to say 'I love you because you are beautiful than in you to say to my statue here that you love it because it, too, is beautiful? Do you smutch it by your admiration? Do I smutch *you* by mine? * * * Is it ever an insult to praise beauty as an artist praises it? Go to, are you so of the world that you cannot credit my admiration with cleanness, my worship with holiness, and my love with honour? *Dio e Morte*, it were my silence were the crime, not my speech: to let so lovely a work from the divine smithy go unloved and unpraised by the best in me, which is my artist's soul. I have spoken; I have done."

There could hardly be a more dramatic and suggestive revelation of an artist's soul. Eventually, an artist's indomitable passion for perfection is the cause of Torrigiano's ruin and tragic end. He falls a victim to the religious bigotry of the Spanish Inquisition before which he is tried on a charge of sacrilege and by which he is condemned. The tragic story of this artist's life has its fitting close in the highly imaginative subjective vision described poetically in which "his spirit soared in its flight from the flesh."

J. G. B.

Ourselves

Ramtanu Lahiri Professor of Bengali

Rai Bahadur Khagendranath Mitra, M.A., has been appointed Ramtanu Lahiri Professor of Bengali for a period of five years with effect from the 1st November, 1932, or any later date in course of the present session on which he may join. His salary will be Rs. 600 per month for the first two years, at the end of which, the question of his salary will be reconsidered by the Senate. He will be subject to the conditions and rules applicable to the Ramtanu Lahiri Professorship.

* * *

A New D.Sc.

Mr. Satyaprasad Raychaudhuri, M.Sc., has been admitted to the Degree of Doctor of Science on the following theses submitted by him :—

(*i*) On the nature of Active Carbon and on the Absorption of Electrolytes by it in relation to Current Theories, and

(*ii*) On the nature of Reactions responsible for Goil Acidity; on the Titration Curves of Colloidal Acids and on the Colloid Chemical Analysis of such system.

* * *

Results of the Preliminary Examination in Law, July, 1932

The number of candidates registered for the Examination was 792 of whom 174 were absent and 1 was expelled.

The number of candidates who actually sat for the Examination was 618 of whom 383 passed and 235 failed.

Of the successful candidates 27 were placed in Class I and 356 in Class II.

The percentage of pass was 62·2.

* * *

Results of the Intermediate Examination in Law, July, 1932

The number of candidates registered for the Examination was 484 of whom 73 were absent and none was expelled.

The number of candidates who actually sat for the Examination was 408 of whom 288 passed and 120 failed.

Of the successful candidates 36 were placed in Class I and 256 in Class II.

The percentage of pas was 70·6.

* * *

Results of the Final Examination in Law, July, 1932

The number of candidates registered for the Examination was 841 of whom 267 were absent and none was expelled.

The number of candidates who actually sat for the Examination was 574 of whom 414 passed and 160 failed.

Of the successful candidates 40 were placed in Class I and 374 in Class II.

The percentage of pass was 72·1.

* * *

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

NOVEMBER-DECEMBER, 1932

THE ECONOMIC IMPLICATIONS OF LAUSANNE CONFERENCE

Reasons for summoning the Conference.

Considerations of space and time preclude me from making a detailed reference to the illusory prosperity brought about by an inflationary era. Fortunately for her an era of credit and currency stabilisation set in early in 1924. It proved indeed smooth sailing for the German finances so long as external (mainly American) capital could be obtained on decent terms. She was able to steer clear of the Charybdis of financial bankruptcy or the Scylla of inflationary credit and currency orgy.[1] With the help of external capital the industrial renaissance and the much-needed rationalisation of war-dislocated German economy could be successfully brought about.[2] Excepting the year 1926 there was no severe spasm of depression in Germany. It would be no exaggeration to say that by 1929 Germany almost regained her pre-war economic health. Production increased. A high wage rate existed.[3] Her low prices enabled her to find

[1] During 1924 to 1930 the total indebtedness of Germany increased to RM. 25 5 milliards. A part of this was covered by her foreign assets amounting to RM. 9·7 milliards. The net debt being RM. 15·8. See the Report of the London Conference.

[2] See Dr. Doreen Warriner—Combines and Rationalisation in Germany—" The economic effects of the combination movement of 1924-1928 are lucidly described in this book.

[3] German wages were low in 1924 immediately after the stabilisation of credit and currency. They gradually rose to a higher level by 1929.

out an export surplus. The expansion of production and consumption took place in the new era out of monies loaned abroad instead of being solely financed out of accumulated savings. Somehow the trick of paying prodigious political debt was accomplished.[4]

But to secure a "complete and final settlement of the Reparations problem" the Young Committee was organised. The inevitable political factors intervened. A run on the Reichsbank reserve ensued. The Committee's deliberations almost came to a standstill. To solve the deadlock the Germans wisely yielded. A lower figure of Reparations was agreed to as fixed by the Young Committee.[5] A commercialised machinery called the Bank of International Settlements was set up to facilitate the transfer problem without affecting the stability of German currency. The evacuation of the Rhine Province stimulated her economic activity. No statesman in Europe could dream that this flourishing Germany of 1929 would suffer a severe economic set-back as it were within a brief period of two years. But political disturbances aggravated the main economic issue. The grave economic situation of Germany in 1931 can be apprpriately summed up in the significant phrase, *viz.*, financial paralysis.[6] The appalling general demoralisation of German economic

[4] A clear study of the pamphlet entitled "The Present Economic State of Germany" would reveal the state of agriculture, transportation and banking. My thanks are due to the Consul General for Germany for providing me with a copy of this privately printed book.

[5] The Young Plan fixed the total Reparations figure at 110·7 milliard gold marks payable according to a sliding scale and ranging roughly over a period of 62 years provided there was to be a permanent improvement in world trade situation enabling Germany to enjoy her share of world prosperity. Neither did this prophecy become true nor did the expected economic co-operation and increase of world commerce as a result of the action of B. of I. S. take place. As subsequent economic events have run counter to the expectations of the treaty the Germans invoke the help of International Law to declare the Young Plan null and void as a result of unforeseen circumstances which render it inoperative.

[6] There are people who believe that Germany inflated deliberately with a view to secure the abolition of Reparations. Germany's "fraudulent bankruptcy" is often a catch-word on the part of the French people who want to exact reparations and keep Germany perpetually weak. But there is no gainsaying of the fact that she loyally carried out the payments and as her present economic resources have been dried up she has rightly appealed for mercy.

life became aggravated into a panic and a catastrophe seemed inevitable.

The Responsibility of America.

It was American capital that unwittingly undid her previous work. The drying up of the American capital loans to Germany during the days of the speculative orgy in Wall Street and the world-wide fall in prices precipitated by this measure gravely affected the internal economy of Germany. With a truncated area,[7] a dwindling population, lessened industrial resources as coal and iron[8] nearly wholesale liquidation of German property abroad,[9] a large number of unemployed amounting to about 6 million, in number arising out of a materially weakened state of industries, a complete breakdown of her mercantile marine, increasing costs of production which could not be adequately covered by sales owing to the adverse fall in retail as well as wholesale prices[10] and the ceaseless outflow of gold following the Hitlerian success in the Reichstag elections of 1930 Germany could hardly afford to pay the political payments.[11] President

[7] It is significant to note that Herr Von Papen has been agitating for the restoration of the lost colonies to Germany.

[8] A rough idea of the diminished productive efficiency of Germany can be secured by a glance at the following table :—

Reduction in population	10 per cent.	Reduction in zinc ore	66 per cent.
,, ,, arable soil	14 ,, ,,	Reduction ,, lead ore	25 ,, ,,
,, ,, live stock	8·16 ,, ,,	Reduction ,, blast furnace	25 ,, ,,
,, ,, hard coal	26 ,, ,,	,, ,, rolling mill prn	16
,, ,, iron ore	75 ,, ,,	Loss of merchant marine	90 per cent.

See page 55, Dr. G. E. Hinecke's pamphlet—"No More Reparations."

[9] It is only in the case of U. S. A. that the confiscated German capital was returned back again after the war.

[10] The business and economic conditions were not entirely prosperous and these became intensified by political disturbances leading to loss of confidence in the basis of German credit.

[11] In March 1931 Germany had to disburse 179·15 million Reichsmarks for political liabilities and this is more than double the monthly revenue from wage-discount in the whole of Germany. See Dr. F. Grimm, "The 35th Economic Conference and Germany's Answer."

Hoover's moratorium as regards political payments and the successive Standstill Agreements with reference to commercial debt could give only temporary respite and breathing freedom but it was plain to every member of the Basle Committee of August, 1931, and the Berlin Committee of January, 1932, that things were not shaping well with Germany. The falling prices only led to increased number of bankruptcies, further restriction and demoralisation of economic activity. Falling prices dealt a knockout blow to reeling and groggy Germany as the pugilistic metaphor would put it. Declining international trade [12] ruled out all hopes of heavy export surplus. The disabled banking system made the burden of existing indebtedness almost staggering. Dr. Heinecke aptly summarises the situation when he rightly remarks that "Germany has been crowded to the very edge of economic catastrophe."[13] All the creditor countries

[12] A glance at the recent report of the Economic Committee of the League of Nations will disclose the great fall in value as well as the volume of international trade. The following percentage figures indicate this tendency are expressed as 100 and the decline of trade in the figures of Jany., 1930—Jany., 1932—is expressed in precentage figures.

Imports.				Exports.			
Switzerland	21%	Czechoslovakia	48%	Brazil	21%	U. S. A.	48%
Sweden	26%	Belgium	50%	Argentine	31%	Germany	48%
Austria	37%	France	51%	Sweden	34%	Canada	49%
Japan	37%	Italy	52%	Belgium	40%	Switzerland	50%
U. Kingdom	39%	Argentine	54%	Roumania	42%	France	51%
Brazil	44%	U. S. A.	58%	Italy	46%	Japan	53%
U. S. Africa	47%	Hungary	59%	U. Kingdom	47%	Austria	54%
Yugoslavia	59%			Poland	58%		
Canada	60%			Czechoslovakia	61%		
Roumania	61%			U. S. A.	63%		
Spain	62%			Yugoslavia	65%		
Poland	63%			Spain	70%		
Hungary	66%			Hungary	70%		

See L. of N. Report—Off No. C-516-M-255-1932.

[13] See page 13 of his pamplet entitled "No More Reparations."

concerned in the matter of receiving Reparations or political payments joined hands together and met in Lausanne to arrive at a satisfactory solution. Fortunately for the world French obduracy was won over. A real lasting peace was forged by the almost entire scrapping away of the political payments. There has been the paving of the way for a satisfactory settlement of the Inter-Allied War debts to America.

Its Conditional Nature.

Mr. Ramsay Macdonald performed the hat trick. Like Emperor Ceasar of olden times he achieved momentous results which can be briefly summed up in the aphoristic language and phraseology of *Veni, Vedi, Veci.* Although the important Continental newspapers hail this conclusion of L. Conference as an important landmark and view with gratitude and relief the patching up of the agreement—the far-reaching economic consequences of Reparations—free Germany have not been outlined.[14] To envisage this the tangled skein of the different stages of the conversations [15] of all the powers need not be enravelled. To quote the hackneyed phrases "*the clean slate*" or the "*tabula rasa*" in the matter of German Reparations problem bespeaks nothing intelligible to the ordinary reader.[16] The conditional factor that the ratification of the "Gentleman's Agreement" would become complete only if America reciprocates

[14] France has scented already industrial competition at the hands of Reparations-free Germany. Sir Walter Layton's figures are often quoted in this direction. After he cancellation of Reparations the per capita German public debt would be £8, that of U.S.. £26, that of France £58 and that of Great Britain £156. But the smaller amount of German indebtedness constitutes a large burden for Germany than the larger amount of indebtedness in the case of other countries for the whole of Germany's debt is foreign-owned. See Paul Einzig-Finance and Politics, p. 135.

[15] See the Economist, June 25, 1932.

[16] As many as 35 Conferences has to be held during a period of 12 years to solve the tangled question of Reparations. Minor alleviations, small concessions and unimportant improvements as in the case of Dawes Plan and the Young Settlement could not avert the chaos.

similar generous attitude towards European Debt robs the significance of the Conference itself. But the voice of reason and higher justice would doubtless prevail over the letter-of-the-law. Quite a disquieting news has been flashed to the effect that America neither consents to the total abolition of the War-Debts nor does she agree to lower her tariff walls. Agitated by political matters such as the impending elections the issues might not have been grasped in real earnest. An appeal from Philip Drunk to Philip Sober would sometimes enable us to secure justice. Similarly the voice of reason and higher justice would doubtless prevail over the American minds when they are free from the torments of domestic political issues. It is not entirely unreasonable to expect that America would forgive her debtors just as Germany has forgiven hers.[17]

Its Chief Economic Clauses.

The Conference has been dissolved. Broadly speaking, it may be considered to be a success. As an Economist I am not concerned with the political compensations effected at the same time. The revision of the political clauses of the Treaty of Versailles also falls outside my purview. It is psychologists[18] alone who can properly appreciate the moral consequences of the removal of the famous war-guilt clause, *i.e.*, Article 231 of the superannuated treaty of Versailles.

[17] See Ch. 9, para. 6, of the Young Plan. Germany renounced the credits she has given to her former allies under Article 261 of the Versailles Treaty.

[18] Another inestimable advantage is that the German youths will now realise that justice has been granted to them in the matter of political payments. The current opinion in Germany is that Germany has paid more than what she is entitled to pay. Dr. Grimm estimates that 28·5 milliards Gold marks alone ought to have been demanded in fairness and Germany has already paid 38·25 milliards gold marks.

Another priceless psychological advantage is that the hatred against the capitalist system which is becoming more and more prominent as a result of the bitterness against political payments will be removed. Germany would once again support the capitalistic system of industrial organisation if her credit basis is trusted and loans are made to enable her to improve her economic organisation. Rid of excessive Government control and State interference the acquisitive instinct of the individual capitalist would function and uphold the new financial basis that has been created during the new-era days of 1924-1928.

The fixing of the residual payment at the low figure of 3 milliards of gold marks for the economic reconstruction of Europe payable after a three years' moratorium commencing from 1933 March and the total scrapping away of the huge reparations debt fixed till 1983 and graded according to supposed ability of Germany to pay it to the Allies are the chief economic clauses.

Chancellor Herr Von Papen's arguments that Germany could ill afford to pay anything further than 5 per cent. redeemable bonds worth three milliards of gold marks to the Bank of International Settlements after a three years' moratorium have been amply borne out by present-day circumstances. With civil war, social disintegration and political disturbances inside the country the gathering of economic payments and the balancing of the budgets would be impossible in the near future. It is as a realisation of this fact that the Bank of International Settlements is allowed to fix the date of actual payment on the part of Germany.

With a "strangulated export trade" the economic wherewithal to repay even the reduced indebtedness would not exist. A small export surplus[19] no doubt exists at present but it is

[19] See the Economist, June 25 1932, p. 1403.

Millions of Reischmarks.

Period.	Retained imports.	Domestic exports, excluding reparations in kind.	Export surplus (plus) import surplus (minus).	reparations, in kind.
1929 total	13,477	12.663	—783	819
1930	10,393	11,328	plus 935	707
1931	6,727	9,206	,, 2,479	393
1931, October	483	866	,, 383	13
,, November	482	738	,, 256	10
,, December	491	712	,, 221	26
1932, January	425	530	,, 105	12
,, February	441	527	,, 86	11
,, March	364	516	,, 152	11
,, April	427	472	,, 35	9
,, May	351	438	,, 87	9

Prof. Karl Diehl says that "this export surplus is capable neither of long continuation nor of ready mobilisation." "In part, it is due to shrinkage in purchases in part to the anxious selling of goods at sacrifice prices."—The Economic State of Germany, p. 39.

doubtful how far it would continue to exist against universally falling prices and high tariff walls of other countries. Hence it has been the granting of bonds alone which may be repaid in course of time that has been the agreed result.

The opening of the venue for the World Economic Conference to be held in London in forthcoming winter is another welcome outcome of the Lausanne Conference. Without monetary stability no country can hope to flourish for quite a long time. An attempt would therefore be made to achieve stable money as a result of the forthcoming World Economic Conference.

Germany's Economic Gains.

She has been freed from the making of further reparation payments which amount roughly to 93 mil. marks. The settled Young plan has been unsettled. The RM. 3 milliards worth of bonds to be paid later on are no heavy immediate handicap.[20] Germany which has so long been denounced as the devastator of Europe can now openly proclaim that she has helped the economic reconstruction of Europe with the utmost amount that she could possibly pay just now.

The unfortunate era of exorbitantly high interest rates would soon be changed. But the expected reduction in the discount rate of the Reichsbank below five per cent.[21] to three per cent. as suggested by the Finance Minister, Herr Dietrich, might not be forthcoming just now for the attenuated gold reserve of the Reichsbank would soon become further depleted.

The relief from heavy and burdensome taxation which had to be imposed in order to pay reparations would be thoroughly

[20] Herr Von Hitler who is not satisfied with this agreement openly says, " the agreement which has to-day laid a burden of three milliards on Germany will in six months not be worth three marks." See Economist, July 16, 1932, p. 122.

[21] On July the Bank rate was reduced to 4½ per cent. But as there is a great disparity between short-term money rates and long-term interest rates which are roughly 10 per cent. a further reduction of bank rate seems impossible.

appreciated by the German citizens and by German industrial enterprise in particular.

Above all the rebuilding of particular credit connections would enable Germany to secure the much needed long-term capital.[22] The German Government would now systematically attempt to secure the willing co-operation of the lender countries. Rid of political payments Germany can now concentrate her efforts in accumulating savings [23] and might perchance find a solution for her economic crisis. A prosperous Germany would lead the procession to better business and a happier world and put an end to international insolvency.

The Gains to Continental Europe.

The united European front, the giving up of French hostility, financial dictatorship,[24] avarice and old spite towards Germany and the European front being exerted against financial domination of America [25] are distinctly favourable terms and signs in the economic outlook of Europe. Apart from the cancellation of war-debts, what is urgently needed, is the protection against financial and industrial penetration of America. The economic rehabilitation of Europe alone can provide the needed safeguard in this direction and the road towards industrial renaissance has been constructed just at present. If America's financial strangle-hold is released the resultant freedom from indebtedness would enable

[22] Even public corporations cannot hope to secure long-term loans without making special provision for amortisation. See Prof. Walter Lotz's paper on Public Finance in the "Present Economic State of Germany," p. 26.

[23] Since 1924 Germany paid annually 2,000 million marks as reparations. It is estimated that $\frac{1}{3}$ of the savings made during 1924-1928 was paid as reparations. See Dr. Heinecke's "No More Reparations," pp. 24-28.

[24] The recent Anglo-French entente announced by Sir John Simon means their joint willingness to restore order in Europe. Assured of British help the French people would not mind German aggressiveness. Peace without humiliation has been secured.

[25] Since 1915 the U.S.A. lent sums ranging close to Dollars 45,000,000,000 to Europe. See Senator Wm. E. Borah's introduction to Dr. G. E. Heinecke's Monograph, "No More Reparations."

the European countries to strengthen their credit basis and launch on industrial and capital reconstruction programmes. The dangers of continued European particularism in face of the economic power of the U. S. A. are now averted.[26]

What of Creditor America ?

The United States of America need not feel any compunction in agreeing to this situation.[27] It is already stated that "unofficial assent" has been given towards the acceptance of the clean slate solution.[28] No creditor country can indeed hope to play the part of an unrelenting Shylock in these modern days of economic interdependence. The quality of mercy yields not only moral but economic advantages at the same time. A merciful creditor country can secure trading advantages if the indebted borrower country is freed from the incubus of deadweight indebtedness. The fall in prices has engendered a world-wide trade depression and it, in its wake, has brought about an acute financial crisis in the case of all debtor countries. The impoverished Austrian finances could somehow be rehabilitated by conjoint action under the leadership of the Financial Committee of the League of Nations. But a defaulting Germany would unbalance the American, the

[26] See Dr. Felix Somary, "Changes in the Structure of World Economics since the War."

[27] It is indeed true that America has to give up now an "annual claim of 250 million dol. a year now and more later on." But with the cancellation of claims substantially the same amount would become immediately a charge upon the American budget which the Congress is already having difficulty to bring into balance. But the rising tide of business would bring in more money and willingness to pay taxes.

[28] On November 17, 1931, the State Department of U.S.A. issued a note that a reduction of Inter-allied indebtedness would ensue as soon as Europe comes to a satisfactory agreement concerning the Reparations problem. America showed her willingness once already in the direction of the reduction of war-debts though she maintained the view that Reparations and war-debts were separate entities. So long as further reductions do not mean additional expenditure on Armaments America would not grudge to show her clemency once again. France for example had 60 per cent. reduction of war-debts but she has been liberally spending more on Armaments than before. If this promise were to be assured America would certainly "give the economic life of the world a fresh start."

French, the Belgian and the British banking and financial systems. It is not indeed political payments alone that have to be reckoned with seriously. The mere prolongation of Standstill Agreements in the matter of commercial debts as has been done up to March, 1933, would not alleviate the situation in any telling manner.

Mere Silver-lining to the Cloud.

The Lausanne solution is only a mere silver-lining to the cloud, for it is mere reparations alone that have been scrapped. But a colossal amount of short-term as well as long-term commercial debt exists.[29] But without the scrapping of reparations no creditor country would lend Germany any substantial amounts. Even if loans were to be granted further political turmoil and consequent economic disintegration ought to cease. It is then alone that Germany would be able to repay her commercial indebtedness. An economically flourishing Germany would mean a flourishing European Continent and immediate world-wide trade improvement for all nations are bound up inextricably by the silken ties of trade and commerce. Increased world trade, industrial prosperity leading to widespread employment and materially flourishing agricultural countries would be some of the far-seeing results of the Lausanne Agreement. Considering the fact that it is the burden of commercial debt

[29] Apart from political payments German debt to other countries is a very significant item.

Million RM.

	Long-term.	Percentage.	Short-term.	Percentage.
German Debts to U.S.A.	5,626	55·2	1,629	37·1
,, ,, Great Britain	1,100	11·5	1,051	23·9
,, ,, France	1.174	12·3	336	7·6
,, ,, Holland	475	5·0	297	6·8

alone that remains to be solved and as a large part of it is productively invested the German financial system need not be thrown out of equilibrium. War debts were unproductively spent and so long as the debtor countries merely borrowed to repay interest on it there could be no sign of economic recovery. The balance of payments affords the proper key to the situation. If a real surplus were to exist it can be considered as an unmistakable manifestation of economic recovery for it leads to the formation of capital accumulation. The Layton Report to the Basle Committee rightly insists on this economic truth, *i.e.*, that the creditors cannot hope to secure great annual sums from debtors while placing unsurmountable obstacles in the way of free interchange of trade commodities. The economic truth is, there can be no such anomaly as forced partial economic recovery of bad debts from impoverished borrowers.

The Crux of the Problem.

The extensive short-term indebtedness of Germany [31] has been contracted through the banks for securing the needed working capital for enabling the industrial rationalisation schemes to proceed apace. No ready payment of this can be forthcoming so long as German short-term assets are far lower than the figures of indebtedness.[32] The German Banks have made excessive short-term borrowings and lent them for a long period to German industry. Any immediate foreclosure of loans on the part of creditor countries to withdraw these amounts would make her

[30] Germany has been given a constitution totally inadequate to her needs and worried by special problems it needs a strong Government at the present moment. See International Conciliation, No. 270, May, 1931.

[31] The failure of the Danat Bank and the closing of the German Stock Exchange were due to sheer inability to repay short-term loans. The Danat Bank could not repay 650 million gold marks The reserve of the Reichsbank fell down from 2·57 milliards of gold marks to 1·61 milliard gold marks and of this amount about 630 million gold marks were secured out of the rediscounting facilities granted by the B. of I. S. to the Reichsbank—Dr. F. Grimm—*Ibid*, p. 50.

[32] During the three years 1927 to 1929 the short-term foreign borrowings of Germany exceeded short-term lending abroad by RM. 43 milliards.

default and it is only by a successful nursing of the indebted country that anything can be done in the direction of recovery of past loans. The funding of short-term debt and the slow payment of these debts out of real accruing assets is the only safe solution. This is the only feasible remedy so far as short-term commercial indebtedness of German Banks is concerned. Every other help such as reduction of debt and interest rates [33] would facilitate the process of financial and economic recuperation and reduce the risks to both the lenders and the borrowers.

The Flight of Capital.

While the economic situation was far from encouraging political turmoil and disturbances have aggravated the tendency for the flight of capital from the country and by the end of 1931 roughly 4,900 million RM were sent out of the country. [34] But the excessive withdrawals of capital have aggravated the German foreign exchange situation already rendered unsteady as a result of diminishing exports and dwindling imports of capital into the country. Though the adverse foreign exchange situation was remedied in the first half of 1931 [35] it does not mean that Germany's economic recovery has been facilitated for the mere withdrawal of RM. 2·9 milliards of short-term credits in June and July, 1931, brought about the financial crisis. Although the cancellation of reparations eases the financial situation the funding of short-term indebtedness is an imperative necessity. Apart

[33] There ought to be a revision of rates of interest in consonance with the changes in the level of prices. It is not changes in wages alone that ought to follow changes in prices. Price fluctuations affect the whole series of factors of national income and every factor or economic category ought to be correspondingly changed in order to maintain the *status quo*.

[34] See the Estimate of the Advisory Committee quoted by Dr. G. H. Heinecke.

[35] The following table illustrates the trade balances of Germany :—

		In Millions of RM.			
		Imports.	Exports.	Surplus of	
				Imports.	Expors.
Average, monthly,	1925-1929	1,051	959	92	...
,, ,,	1930	866	1,003	...	137
,, ,,	Jany.-June, 1931	634	794	...	160

from this facilitating measure the free and continuous grant of long-term loan capital for productive purposes has to be secured. The total savings available in Germany for securing internal economic development and for paying her obligations to foreign countries would not be great. Hence this dependence on the easy and unimpeded flow of capital has to be realised. Equally imperative is the need to prevent the further exportation of capital from Germany. It is clearly manifest that Germany can hardly afford to pursue a policy of driving capital out of the country or inspire lack of confidence abroad. The shortage of capital and the consequent high interest rates are the real impediments to effective economic recovery.

German Government's Measures.

It must however be admitted that the German Government itself have spared no pains to restore economic activity to normal conditions.[37] The balancing of budgets by increased taxation

[36] Its short-term indebtedness amounts to five or six times the cash reserve of the Reichsbank and it would be impossible to face the creditor's withdrawal with such dwindling resources. Excessive borrowings even for productive purposes are fraught with danger. They tend to induce unfavourable financial conditions.

[37] The Emergency Decree of Dec. 8, 1931. has promulgated measures which stand unparalleled in modern legislation. See the Report of the Standstill Committee, Ch. I.

Some important measures of the Emergency Decree are—

(1) the fixing of domestic commodity prices by agreement at about 10 per cent. lower level,

(2) the reducing of railway freight rates by 5 to 20 per cent.,

(3) the reducing of the interest rates,

(4) the reducing of building rates by a minimum rates of 10 per cent.,

(5) the reducing of wages and salaries in Government and private undertakings by 9 per cent.,

(6) the levying of a Federal Sales Tax of two per cent.

One important constructive aspect of the scheme is the mobilisation of 350 million marks for financing German export trade. The compulsory conversion of internal long-term loans so as to diminish the interest on existing debts by one quarter is another facilitating measure for the recovery of German agricultural economy.

German economic recovery might be facilitated if this iron determination to promulgate suitable economic and financial reforms continues through the period of economic recuperation.

The recent emergency decree of Chancellor Herr Von Papen bespeaks something in favour of Germany and is bound to inspire confidence in the minds of external creditors.

and reduced expenditure needs no mention. The economic result has been the happy assurance and guarantee that internal inflation will not be brought about. The long-term interest rates, wages and prices have all been reduced so as to cope with the new economic situation brought about in the latter half of 1931.[38]

Stability of currency and credit organisation was its main aim and endeavour so that a proper correlation would exist between production and the volume of bank money. The controlling Board of banking concerns[39] aims at securing sound credit conditions although the credit machinery is being assailed by gold withdrawals and hoarding of bank notes. Public and private companies are rigidly controlled so that any waste of capital resources does not arise. Foreign exchange transactions are placed under rigorous control of the Reichsbank so that flight of capital from the country might be arrested. The co-operation of the foreign creditors according to the tenour of the Standstill Agreements has, of course, facilitated the successful working of the controlled monetary mechanism established in Germany.

Agricultural economy received special treatment and many farmers have been helped by the granting of moratorium to help their cause.[40] Such have been the measures[41] that Germany enacted to control her position but she was fighting against tremendous odds. But for Lausanne and all that it implies there

38 Full one-third of the industrial life came to a standstill and the index of Industrial production has fallen from 100 in 1928 to 66 in Sep., 1931. Income from labour has fallen. Wages and salaries are lower. Unemployment is still increasing. Economic conditions have not improved even now. See July, 1932, London Banker's Magazine, p. 38.

39 See my Paper on the Problem of Banking Stability, read before the Institute of Bankers, Mysore Economic Journal, May, 1932.

40 The rate of interest exceeds the net profits in agriculture and stands as an effective bar to technical progress.

41 For example in order to reduce German imports the importation of wheat was given up and German people had to depend on rye bread as a substitute for wheat. It was this low standard of living that enabled Germany to reorganise her industries and secure external markets for goods.

would have been a complete failure of German economy and, through her, world economy. Though fortunately all this has been averted still it does not mean that it is smooth sailing henceforward. Granted respite from internal political conflicts Germany might soon set her house in order to assure herself of the grant of regular and enough long-term loans by the creditor countries. This would undoubtedly facilitate the normal functioning of the economic machine. A recovery of trade and prices would better her economic outlook and improve her economic position. A complete credit scheme of a revolving character and sponsored by the leading creditor countries would strengthen her credit basis and secure her economic improvement. An increase in international purchasing power will enable her to regain her normal economic health.

Salient Lessons from Germany's Example.

Every debtor country placed in the self-same situation as that of Germany should adopt similar financial procedure. The world's greatest "economic blizzard" has encompassed them all. Both the volume and the value of the international trade have fallen to an astonishingly low figure in the second half of 1931 and first half of 1932. The restoration of their credit and currency position is the absolute and immediate necessity ahead. Abnormal state economic activities like exchange control and limitation of imports have to be given up for these would tend to delimit further the economic activity of the borrower country. Normalcy in economic behaviour is needed. The tariff crisis has to be cured. The mere financial disturbance alone leads to restricted markets. If tariffs were to still further reduce this possibility it would be impossible to expect recovery on the part of any debtor country, be it Germany or any other economically well-organised country.

[42] See the League of Nations Bulletin, Off No. C-516-M. 255, p. 2.

World Significance of Lausanne Conference.

Lausanne points the way and all international debt obligations have to be similarly examined if the world's economic system is not to be thrown out of gear. The sooner it is done the better it would be for this debt-ridden world. Financial soundness is the *sine-qua-non* of economic progress. The torn fabric of international finance should be woven afresh with dexterity and consummate skill.

Lessons to Creditors.

Both creditors as well as lenders have responsibilities to themselves as well as others. Apart from wise capital investment abroad, a creditor country should lend continuously so as to facilitate normal economic activity of the borrower country. Above all she must consent to receive goods and services in lieu of interest and capital from the borrowing country. Insistence on payment in gold alone would be sheer meaningless attitude for all the world's gold mined so far would amount to a mere fraction of the total indebtedness in the world. Some sort of social control in the matter of external capital investment is no less needed. Any trace of Economic Imperialism on the part of the lending country should be checked. Nothing is more important than that the lender should possess the capacity to control his feelings in good as well as bad times.[43] Firm and wise checking of the greedy and ever-borrowing tendency on the part of the debtor country is needed. Just as the domestic banking system checks all extravagant claims for undue extension of credit, the international financial system has to be similarly safeguarded against unwise expansion of international credit.[44] In other words there ought to

[43] See Sir Joshiah Stamp's Paper entitled "Control or Fate in Economic Affairs," p. 132—Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science, May, 1932.

[44] Dr. B. M. Anderson says that "the basic trouble during 1924-1923 was an excess of loan funds available with lenders seeking borrowers and forcing funds upon them"—Chase Economic Bulletin, Oct. 8, 1931.

be proper correlation between the rate of return or profits from commerce and the rate charged for capital investment. Then alone can it be stated that there has been really secure foreign investment. A system of continuous co-operation of Central Banks can secure this ideal. Perhaps a watchful guidance of a Supernational Bank alone would be able to secure harmony in the intersts of international credit situation. Its main duty should be to check undue overexpansion of credit by creditor countries which might be done by the liberal granting of credits, loans and acceptances.

How should Debtor Countries behave?

As the burden of debts tends to be aggravated in days of falling prices no misuse of even short-term credit should be thought of by the debtor countries. Nothing would be so suicidal as to lock up short-term loans in long-term loan advances to internal borrowers. A growing and immense means of export surplus in 'goods and services' would have to be created to ensure proper payment of interest and capital. The export trade might not be able to support the transfer of such large-scale payments. The creditor country would by all means resist such an attempt by feverishly raising its tariff walls. In spite of this the building up of great productive energy on the part of the debtor country would be a better solution than the infructuous and dangerous one of parting with gold resources. This would undoubtedly lead to certain departure from the gold standard. The depreciation of currency would ensue. All the horrors of inflation might be experienced by the debtor country. The other solution of deliberately creating an artificial surplus of exports would mean an effective competition. The creditor country would doubtless tend to stifle it by raising the tariff wall. While the first kind of remedial action is unthinkable the second becomes impossible. So the restriction of imports is resorted to even at the cost of gravely reducing the national

standard of living. Any curtailing of imports would ultimately lead to the curtailing of exports. Import quotas, new surtaxes and exchange controls tend to restrict the volume of trade. Increasing unemployment, diminished trade, increasing taxation, unbalanced budgets and other peculiarly distressing features characterise the national economy of the debtor country. With the reduction of the wealth of the debtor country there would be a diminution of the wealth of the entire world itself.

Conclusion.

Debtors as well as creditors have to realise that it is mutual exchange of goods and services that constitutes the *summum bonum* of economic activity. They must realise their proper and respective places in world economy. Without mutual help there can be no facilitation of the respective duties and obligations towards each other. The present-day disjointed international economy amply illustrates that nations have forgotten their interrelationships.

Chile and Brazil have defaulted. Australia promises to do the self-same thing. India [45] and China [46] are finding it extremely difficult to repay their heavy international obligations. No economic problem needs better attention than this. Having overborrowed during days of prosperity they are confronted with fiscal

[45] Sir Basil Blackett has recently stated before the East India Association that unless a rise in prices were to immediately take place the international obligations of India cannot be paid without great damage to the internal economy of the country. So far as internal debt is concerned the Debt Reconciliation Committees recommended by the Provincial Banking Enquiry Committees would most probably have to undertake their work as early as circumstances would permit. The mere threat that resort will be taken to the rural Insolvency Act by the debtor will make the creditors more sensible. The persecution of debtors by the creditors is a menace to society · Equity demands that no annihilation of the earning power of the debtors should take place. Nothing can conduce towards this measure as the reduction of debts. At least equity demands the compulsory conversion of all internal long-term loans which will regularly diminish the interest on existing debts by a half at least.

[46] In both cases the fall in the price of silver has aggravated the problem already rendered difficult by the fall in prices.

difficulties, depreciated exchanges and adverse trade balances. Finding themselves sinking more and more in the mire of indebtedness attempts are made to resist further breakdown of internal economy. Subsidies to increase domestic production, high import tariffs against outside goods and even import prohibitions are resorted to to make the impoverished country absolutely independent even in the matter of food supplies. These restrictions tend to react on the trade position of the world almost leading to a complete strangulation of it.

The forthcoming World Economic Conference is bound to provide a remedy if it were to prevent such recurrent financial crises as the present one in the near future. While the proper regulation of the volume and direction of external or international lending by the creditor countries is essential in the interests of both the lender and the borrower, it is the restoration of world equilibrium in matters of trade and price-level that is the absolute need of the hour.

B. RAMCHANDRA RAU.

BUDDHISM AND VEDANTA

No thought system of the world in the present age can evade the challenge of modern thought. Latest discoveries of Science and Philosophy have tolled the death-knell of all dogmatism and credalism, traditionalism and ritualism of religions. Bigoted self-sufficiency and superstitious assertions can no longer hold supreme in any religion. The new spirit of universalism has brought about a revolution in the thought world. Every religion, for a new lease of life, must, in the modern age, compare notes with sister faiths and find out grounds of agreement.

Can Buddhism meet the challenge of the New Era without any fear of Truth? The Buddhist scholars, both of the East and the West, unanimously opine that critical studies of Pali Tripiṭaka, the Buddhist Classics, have barely begun with the necessary labour and have not yet advanced far. Dr. Mrs. Rhys Davids, perhaps the greatest living authority on the subject, who has devoted about forty years of her valuable life to the study of and writing on Buddhism, remarks that the original teachings of Sakya Muni are twisted, deformed or rather smothered so much in the Mantra Ritual and celebrant that we have to winnow in the Buddhist Scriptures the older grain from the chaff of later accretions. So there is yet much to be done in Buddhism in the way of historical elucidation, scientific exegesis and logical interpretation.

It is said, Mahayan in Japan has girded up her loins and been up and doing to revitalise her Religion in the light of Modern Thought. Will Hinayan lag behind in the march of Religions in responding to the call of time, or overlook and denounce the example of the sister faith with derisive smile? But if Buddhism is to live culturally and spiritually as before, and keep pace with the advancement of modern knowledge, Hinayan

and Mahayan must again unite and embrace each other in a bond of mutual co-ordination and co-operation. Otherwise it will become lifeless and static as in the Ceylon Hindus, who are reluctant to co-operate with their elder brothers over the Palk Strait, whence they have migrated to this land with physical, mental and spiritual legacy. Another indispensable condition of life and growth for Buddhism is to join hands in love and respect with her Mother Church, the Hinduism, or more properly called, the Vedic Religion, whence she sprang up as a tributary from a river. Is not Buddhism a part of the grand mausoleum of the Indo-Aryan Religion? It is a matter of painful regret that Buddhism has not only forgotten totally its ancestral heritage but now cherishes a feeling of hatred and competition for the original source. In the course of our present study we shall try to make out the close affinity of Buddhism and Vedanta, for that is the scriptural name of Hinduism as a whole.

According to Dr. Mrs. Rhys Davids, Buddhism is not the Bon-Po of Vedic Religion as expounded in the Hindu Classics. She says that Buddhism is the fulfilment, the expansion and popularisation of the abstruse Vedic doctrine. Buddha never opposed but fulfilled and widened the religion of the Upanishads where buttress and strengthening were needed. Buddha brought forward quite a new emphasis on the doctrine of man as becoming (Werdend or Bhu), dynamic in manifold ways against the prevailing doctrine of man as static Sat (Divine Being). Buddha followed in his life the Jnana Marga of the Vedanta, but he stood against the degenerating Karma Kanda of the Vedas and in this respect he is a Vedic Protestant.

Sir S. Radhakrishnan in his "History of Indian Philosophy," Volume I, page 360, says: "For a revelation of struggles of spirit and the experiences of soul Buddha had already to hand the supreme work of Indian genius, the Upanishads Early Buddhism is not absolutely an original doctrine. It is no freak in the evolution of Indian thought. Buddha did not break away completely from the spiritual ideas of his age and country.

To be in open revolt against the conventional and legalistic religion of his time is one thing; to abandon the leading spirit lying behind it is another. Buddha himself admits that the Dharma which he has discovered by an effort of self-culture is the ancient way, the Aryan Path, the Eternal Dharma. Buddha is not so much creating a new Dharma as rediscovering an old norm. It is the venerable tradition that has been adapted to meet the special needs of the age. To develop this theory Buddha had only to rid the Upanishads of their inconsistent compromises with Vedic Polytheism and religion, set aside the transcendental aspect as being indemonstrable to thought and unnecessary to morals, and emphasised the ethical universalism and idealism of the Upanishads. Early Buddhism, we venture to hazard a conjecture, is a reinstatement of the thought of the Upanishads from a new view-point."

Mrs. Rhys Davids says in her "Buddhism," page 83-84, that Gautama was born and brought up and lived and died a Hindu. There was not much in the metaphysics and principles of Gautama which cannot be found in any of the orthodox systems and a great deal of his morality could be matched from earlier or later Hindu books. Such originality as Gautama possessed lay in the way in which he adopted, enlarged, ennobled and systematised that which had already been well said by others. Principles of equity and justice already were acknowledged by some of the most prominent Hindu thinkers. The difference between Him and other teachers lay chiefly in his earnestness and his broad public spirit of philanthrophy.

Oldenberg in his "Buddha," page 63, says: "It is certain that Buddhism has acquired an inheritance from Brahminism, not merely a series of its most important dogmas but what is not less significant to the historians, the bent of his religious thought and feelings which is more easily comprehended than expressed in words."

The contempt for Ritualism is common to Buddhism and the Upanishads. Buddhism shared with the rest of Aryan India the belief in the law of Karma and the possibility of attaining Nirvana. That sorrow or suffering is the essential fact of life on Earth is admitted by almost all schools of Indian thought, the Upanishads included. Buddha himself was not aware of any incongruity between his theory and that of the Upanishads. He felt that he had the support and sympathy of the Upanishads and their followers. He classed the Brahmins along with the Buddhist mendicants and used the word as one of honour in reference to Buddhists or Arhats and saints. "Buddhism in its origin at least," says S. Radhakrishnan, "is an offshoot of Hinduism, and the spirit of the Upanishads is the life-stream of Buddhism." Rhys Davids says in his "Buddhism," page 85, that Buddhism grew and flourished within the fold of orthodox Hindu beliefs.

Pessimism, which is the basic doctrine of Buddhism and which occupies a central place in the teachings of Buddha, is foreshadowed in the teachings of the Upanishads. Repeatedly the question is put in the Upanishads to the Rishis by their disciples: "What is the mystery of the existence, what is the secret of Death and how to know it?" "What is there by knowing which everything is known?" In the Sankhya philosophy of Kapila Muni, which is pre-Buddhistic in its origin, and which is one of the six principal systems of Hindu Philosophy, the first enquiry is how to get rid of three-fold miseries, the Adi-Daivic, Adhyatmic, and the Adhibhautic, that body and mind are heir to. Before Buddha the Upanishads had already indicated the cause of suffering. To them the eternal is Bliss and the transitory is painful. *Yo vai bhuma tat sukham, nalpe sukham asti.* The eternal, unchanging, immutable and the undecaying is the Truth, Freedom and Happiness, but the worlds of birth, old age and death are subject to suffering. The Real is not to be found in the finite, not-self, which is subject to birth and decease. The fundamental proposition of

Buddhism, that Life is sorrow, is dogmatically accepted in the Upanishads.

For Buddha, as for the Upanishads, the whole world is conditioned by causes. While the Upanishads say that things have no self-existence as such but are products of a causal series which has no beginning or end, Buddha says all things undergo changes indicated in Utpāda (origination), Sthiti (stay), Jarā (growth), and Nirodha (destruction). The Upanishads are as clear as early Buddhism that in this world of unresting change and eternal flux there is no final security for man. The Upanishadic doctrine of impermanence was adopted by early Buddhism and developed into a theory of momentariness.

The fundamental difference between Buddhism and Vedanta lies in the conception of a metaphysical unchanging Reality, which is the true self of man. "The speculation of Brahmins," says Oldenberg, in his "Buddha," page 251, "apprehended being in all becoming and that of the Buddhists, becoming in all apparent being. In the former case, substance without causality, and in the latter causality without substance." Sir S. Radhakrishnan says: "This difference lies in the distribution of emphasis only on the dominant aspects but nothing fundamental, for both believe that Universe is an undivided movement, an indivisible duration. The Upanishads do not posit a mere being exclusive of becoming; to them the world is an appearance, but it is an appearance of reality. Buddha, agreeing with the Upanishads, hold that phenomena of the world as known to our intellect possess only a conditioned existence. While the Upanishadic teachers posit an absolute being at the root of this relative world of becoming whereas Buddhism does not do that. But Yamakami Sogen in his "Systems of Buddhistic Thought," page 134, says that "the substratum of everything is eternal and permanent. What changes every moment is merely the phase of a thing, so that it is erroneous to affirm that, according to Buddhism the thing of the first moment ceases to exist when the second moment arrives.' Where the Upanishads

assert a reality beyond change or becoming there Buddhism suspends a judgment on the question. However much Buddha tried to refuse to reply to the question of the ultimate reality which lay beyond the categories of the phenomenal world he did not seem to have had any doubt about it. Buddha believed certainly in an ontological reality that endures beyond the shifting appearances of the visible world. For in "Udana" VIII. 3 Buddha says there is an unborn, an unoriginated, an unmade, an uncompounded world ; were there not, oh mendicants, there would be no escape from the world of the born, the originated, the made and the compounded.

Buddha was neither an agnostic nor an atheist as commonly and widely held even by his immediate and remote followers. Buddha is misunderstood like many other world saviours. His silence as regards ultimate reality was due to fulness of mystic realisation which is inexpressible and in the words of the Upanishads, beyond mind and speech. *Avangmanaso gocharam.* Natalie Rokotoff in his "Foundations of Buddhism," page 28, says : "certainly Buddha's knowledge was not limited to his doctrines, at least to what he was made to say by his later followers, but caution prompted by great wisdom made him hesitate to divulge conceptions which if misunderstood might be disastrous." "One day the Blessed One in a Simsapa Grove," continues the Russian orientalist, "in Kosambi, took a few leaves from the tree above and said, 'As the leaves in my hand are few in number and far more are the leaves on the tree above, even so, oh mendicants, what I have perceived and not communicated to you is far more than what I have communicated to you.' " A tradition of three circles of his teachings was established for the chosen ones, for the members of the Sangha, and for all.

The Buddhist theory of 5 Kandhas, Rupa (form), Vedana (feeling), Samja (perception), Samskara (disposition) and Vijana (reason) which are repeatedly produced and destroyed on every moment is developed out of Nama-Rupa-Karma of the Vedanta. The Vedanta declares emphatically that the Atman of Man which

is also the Reality of the world is not to be identified with body or mental life which grows or changes. The Vedantic Atman is not also the transmigrating soul but what transmigrates is the Sukhsma Sareera or subtle body, which consists of five pranas, five organs of knowledge, and five organs of action, mind and buddhi. It is separate from the gross physical body. The body is called Samskara by the Buddhist, Samhati by the Vedantist, but both mean organization. Though Buddha was silent about Atman enunciated in the Upanishds, yet in "Puggalapannatti" we see there is a theory of Atman called Sasvatabada (Eternalism) which holds that the soul truly exists in this life and in the next. Nagarjuna in his commentaries on the "Prajnaparamita Sutra" says: "The Tathagata sometimes taught that the Atman exists when he preached that the Atman exists and is to be the receiver of misery and happiness in successive lives of the demerits and merits of its Karma his object was to save men from falling into the heresy of Nihilism."

Buddha compared the doctrine of Pratityasamutpada or Dependent Causation to the wheel. It is interesting to note, a similar view is suggested in the Brihadaranyaka Upanishad. The word Brahma Chakra or the Wheel of Brahma occurs in the Svetasvatara Upanishad (vi. I). It is called Bhava Chakra, or the Wheel of Existence in the early Buddhism. Mr. E. B. Havell says in his "Ideals of Indian Art" that Vedic Brahmins used to turn to right a wheel fastened to a post chanting Sama Veda during the performance of sacrifice, from which the Buddhistic expression turning the wheel of law or Dharma-Chakra-Pravartan has come.

If, at the right stand-point, we make the connected historical studies of Indian thought to be an organic entity, it will be seen that Buddhism is an unbroken continuity of the Vedic Religion, for everything in Buddhism is favourable to the Vedantic Hypothesis. Even the code of ethical duties in the Upanishads and early Buddhism are not different in essentials.

Vedanta says that, as one sun is reflected as many in

many water bubbles, so one Paramatman appears to be many in many Jiva-atmans. So Buddhist writers like Asvaghosha and Vasubandhu explain the individuals as imperfect reflections of the one Universal Mind. Shantideva in his 'Bodhicharyya-avatar' describes the trikaya or three bodies of Buddha, Dharma kaya, Sambhoga kaya, and Nirmana kaya just like Vedantic Brahman (limitless and unconditioned), Iswara and Avatara. He also describes in his 'Siksasamuchaya' ultimate truth as Sambritti Satya and Paramarta Satya just like Absolute (Paramartika) and relative (Byavaharika) Truth (quoted by Dr. A. Coomaraswamy in his "Buddha and the Gospel of Buddhism").

When one man is enlightened by true wisdom, the divine soul is called the Buddha, the Knower, in Buddhism. Oldenberg says in his "Buddha," page 51, "here Brahmanical speculation anticipates Buddhism in diction as well as in thought....When he who has come to know the Atman is mentioned in the 'Satapatha Brahman' as delivered, the word then used for 'knowing' is 'Pratibuddha' which also signifies 'awakening,' the word which the Buddhists are accustomed to use, when they describe how Buddha has in a solemn hour under the Bodhi tree gained the knowledge of delivering Truth, or is awake to the delivering Truth, the same word from which also the name Buddha, that is the knowing, the awakened one, is derived"; just as in the Vedanta, one who realizes Brahman becomes Brahman '*Brahmavit Brahmaiva bhavati*' and each man is potential Brahman. According to Suzuki, Shingon, one of the eight great Buddhist sects prevailing in Japan based on Mahavairochan Sutra and Vajrasekhara Sutra and founded by Kobo Daishi, teaches the doctrine of Funishen, that is not two, all are not two but one. This may be compared with the Rig Veda doctrine, *ekam sat vipra bahudha badanti*, the Supreme Being is one, sages call it variously. The Shingon doctrine is just like Vedantic Advaita-vada. It teaches that Buddhahood is latent in us and all things, animals and plants, and each soul is a potential Buddha,

and when man attains Nirvana, he becomes one with the Supreme Buddha, which is Joy Supreme. The Tendai sect introduced in Japan by Priest Saicho and based on Saddharma Puṇḍarīka teaches the absolute Oneness of all things, and Nirvana is realisation of that Oneness with the Absolute One, the Buddha. We add that Buddhistic Nirvana and Vedantic Samadhi are synonyms of a self-same transcendental state of wisdom and enlightenment, and that the implication of Buddhism is Vedanta.

It is impossible for Buddhism to ignore or discard the past link with Indian thought. The life of homelessness, the ideal of Buddha and the Buddhists, according to Jacobi, had the recognised position in Aryan society about the 8th century B.C. From the early Vedic times there have been in India men with an ascetic temperament who had cut themselves adrift from the responsibilities of life and wandered from home to homelessness. Yajnavalkya and other prominent Upanishadic thinkers in their love for the Supreme relinquished the desire for children, the struggle for wealth and the pursuit of worldly weal, and went forth as mendicants. Such a life was the ideal of India in pre-Buddhistic age, and the Brahmanical code recognised the super-social rights of these to sever themselves from the duties of life and the observation of rites. According to Havel, the eight-fold path of good living along which Buddha led his followers was the ancient Aryan way. Even the metaphor of the eight-fold path was borrowed from the fortified Aryan settlement which had generally eight gates. The rules of the Buddhist Sangha were borrowed from the Brahmanical texts. The symbolism of earliest Buddhist *stupas* known to us is entirely borrowed from the sacrificial lore of the Vedas. The *stupa* was the monument of the dead Aryan king and the cult of *stupa* worship, chief ritual of early Buddhism, was no doubt connected with the Sraddha ceremony of the Royalty. Both in the Vedic and the Buddhistic ages the Brahmin (monk) was the leader of the society.

Even Buddha did not interfere with the domestic ritual which continued to be performed according to the Vedic rules. Srigala who was performing mysterious ceremonies to six directions to guard his home was not blamed by him for performance of his father's rites. He taught him the significance of them, that they are the reminders of his good deeds to people. Of course, Buddha was a reviler of the Vedas, but he denounced that part of the Vedas that countenanced animal sacrifices. Buddhism has taken the principles of the Brahminical theory of Karma, or transmigration, as suggested in the Brihadaranyak Upanishad in the conversation between Arthavagha and Yajnavalkya. Buddha shattered the sway of a supreme God-head but He was himself raised to the position of a Hindu Iswara in Buddhism. The new faith could not disturb the authority of the gods in practical life. Buddhism in Mahayan went a step further and allowed to all Brahmanical deities a place in its pantheon. As in Vedic religion Brahma's consort is Saraswati, so in Mahayan Adhi-Buddha has a female counter-part as Prajnaparamita and Avalokiteswar as Manjusri. The Hindu trinity of Brahma, Vishnu and Siva were expressed by ihe Buddhist formula of three gems, Buddha, Dharma and Sangha.

Early Buddhism and Vedic religion were not separate. There was never a religion in India called Buddhism with temples and priests of its own order. The idea was all in Hinduism. Only the influence of Buddha was once paramount and made the nation monastic, said Swami Vivekananda about four decades ago. Supporting his view Dr. Mrs. Rhys Davids, after her life-long research in the Buddhist thought, in "Sakya Origins," says, that India has ever known him as Sakya Muni, and his men, as their records admit, were spoken of as Sakya sons. It is only when Sakya was lingering in India as a moribund cult, as a decadent quasi-philosophy, that Indian writers mentioned it as 'what the Bauddhas say.' The learned authoress also asserts that in the History of Pali Tripitaka, evolution is not unique or something new but reflects an analogous history in the

development of the Upanishads. The difference between Buddhism and Vedanta, in the words of Swami Vivekananda, is that which is between Judaism and Christianity.

There is no fundamental doctrinal opposition but a temperamental distinction between them. So Buddhism has been accounted by Vijnana Bhikshu as the seventh Darsana of Hindu philosophy. "But if the exponents of Buddhism," says Dr. A. Coomaraswamy, in his "Buddhism and the Gospel of Buddha," page 219, "insist on confining the significance of Buddhism on what was taught by Gautama we must point out at the same time that it stands for a restricted ideal which contrasts with Brahminism as a part contrasts with the whole."

Buddhism borrowed constantly from the Sankhya philosophy. Burnouf thinks that Buddhism is only carrying out the principles of Sankhya. Sankhya ideals prevailed at the time of Buddha, and the Buddhists admit that Kapila lived two centuries before Buddha. Mrs. Rhys Davids in her "Buddhism," page 31, remarks, "I am convinced with Garve and Jacobi that Buddha as a philosopher was entirely dependent on Kapila and Patanjali." Asvaghosha in his Buddhacharita says (quoted in the "Foundations of Buddhism" by Natitali Rokotoff) that the city of Kapilavastu, the birthplace of Buddha, received its name in honour of the great Kapila, the founder of the Sankhya philosophy. All the essentials of Buddhist contemplatives such as Anapana Sati are taken directly from Patanjali. According to Weber, it is not impossible that the Kapila of the Sankhya system and Gautama Buddha were one and the same person. Wilson writes that certain propositions about the eternity of matter, the principles of things and final extinction are common to Sankhya and to Buddhism. Sir S. Radhakrishnan says that the four noble truths of Buddhism correspond to the four truths of Sankhya as put in the Sankhya Pravachana Bhasya. The Buddhistic Avidya, Samskara, Avijnana, Namarupa, Sadayatana, Pratityasamutpada are parallel to, or rather closely resemble, Pradhana, Buddhi, Ahankara, Tanmatras,

Indriyas, Pratyayasangha of the Sankhyas. Jen sect of Buddhism, one of the six prominent sects of Japan, has originated from Patanjali in the time of Buddha.

The Dhayana of Patanjali-yoga was taken up by the early Buddhists as Jhana (Pali), from which the Chinese Ch'an and the Japanese Zen sect has come into being (see "Buddhism and Christianity" by Carpenter, p. 288). The spiritual exercises of the Buddhist meditations are taken over almost unchanged from the Brahminical sources. Sir H. S. Gour says in his "Spirit of Buddhism," that the Sankhya and Buddhistic systems are like two streams that flowing into Vedantic channels have burst its banks and cut for themselves new channels but after taking an independent course for some distance become reunited with the main stream from which they had parted.

Some interpret Nirvana of Buddhism as simply extinction, a night of nothingness, a darkness where all light is extinguished, but according to Buddha, in "Samyutta" III. 109 to think that Nirvana is annihilation is a wicked heresy. He said 'to say of a brother that is set free by insight' that 'he knows not' 'he sees not,' that were absurd. The Nirvana of the Vimukta state is not void or a state of nothingness. It is franchise from the byss and abyss. It is like the Vedantic state of super-consciousness which is described in the Upanishada thus: "As the rivers run and in the deep lose their name and form, so go, from name and form released, the wise men to the Brahman." Nirvana is liberation from the fetters of body and mind, but freedom itself in "Majjhima," 72, where Buddha compares Nirvana to the expiring flame which has no more any hay or wood to burn, so the Svetasvatara and the Narasimhauttratapaniya Upanishadas speak of the Paramatman as the fire, the fuel of which has been consumed. Final deliverance is declared by Buddha to be nothing other than a flow of faultless state of consciousness. Nirvana is an eternal condition of being, beyond birth and death. Mr. Rakotoff says: "Nirvana is the gate which introduces us into the

rhythm of the highest, fiery, creative and eternally expanding stream of infinite existence. In the Mahaparinirvanasutra it is pointed out that even at the hour of death the thought of the Blessed One was directed towards the beautiful, remembering the beauty of the best places it traversed. Beautiful is Rajagriha, beautiful is Baisali, beautiful are the groves and mountains. Max Müller and Childers, after a systematic examination of all the passages relating to Nirvana, conclude that there is not one passage which would require that its meaning would be annihilation. Dahlke in his "Buddhist Essays," page 258, says: "The world rests upon me (Buddha) only in so far as it, as the known, stands opposed to me as the knower, only the form can be known but not that upon which it is based. Wherefore the world can only be done away with through knowledge—that is, only in so far as it is form. Only so far as it is form does it arise and pass away, is it a Becoming, and Becoming can have an ending. That, however, upon which form is based, the elementary that is Being; and never and nowhere can Being pass into Non-being; never and nowhere can what is eternal come to an end." According to Vedanta also, Being devoid of all super-impositions is the Absolute, whereas Becoming which is in the category of Time, Space and Causation is the relative, and consequently transitory. Nirvana is timeless, spaceless and causeless existence.

Sankara, the Apostle of Vedanta, in his Commentary on the Kena Upanishad, says that the Brahman or the Ultimate Being as defined by Sachchidanada or Absolute Being-Bliss-Wisdom is only with reference to the limitations of body, mind and senses, because of its apparent adaptations to the expansion, contraction, and extinction of them, and not on account of its own essence. According to its essence it is, as the Kena Upanishad says, unknown to those who know and known to those who do not know; it is distinct from the known and above the unknown.

Nirvana is the same as the Vedantic Samadhi and the mystic eternal rest. The Vedanta also defines the Brahman as

Neti-Neti or not so, not so. Christian mystics and Muslim Sufis say that God is not improperly called nothing. The later Mahayan writers describe Nirvan as the completeness of being, an eternal beatitude. According to them what is, is Bhavanga, or the stream of being. The wind of ignorance blows over it and stirs its equable flow causing vibration in the ocean of existence. The sleeping soul is awakened and its calm unfettered course is arrested. It wakes up things and builds an individuality and isolates itself from the stream of being. In deep sleep the barriers are broken. Nirvana is getting back into the stream of Being and resuming an uninterrupted flow. Even as no thought-waves perturb the stream of being when the man sleeps, so also in Nirvana we have eternal rest. In Vedanta also Samadhi or Super-consciousness is compared to Susupti or sound slumber, and Brahman is compared to a windless, calm, pacific and boundless ocean and the rough waves created by the storm over it are the cosmic creation. As the Buddhist psalms describe Nirvana as a state of deep joy and immortal delight surpassing all description, so the Vedantists describe Samadhi as a state of peace that passeth all understanding, the state of Absolute Bliss inexpressible like the dumb's tasting of nectar.

The Upanishads describe the Brahman as Mounam or absolute silence, like the Nirvanic calm of the Buddhists. Sankara also preserves an old story which tells that a man of the name of Bahva was questioned by his disciple on the nature of the Brahman but he kept silent. Being questioned a second and a third time he replied at last, "I teach you indeed but you cannot understand." The Brahman is silence. Buddha took the agnostic attitude indicated in the Nasadiya Sukta or grand hymn of creation in the Rig Veda which runs thus:— "When there was no existence nor non-existence, no sky nor air, nor death nor immortality, nor day nor night." The Buddhistic Nirvana and Parinirvana are like Vedantic Jivanmukti and Videhamukti.

The only metaphysics that can justify Buddha's ethical

doctrine is the metaphysics underlying the Upanishads. Buddhism is only a later phase of the general movement of thought of which the Upanishads were the earlier. Max Müller says that many of the doctrines of the Upanishads are no doubt pure Buddhism, rather Buddhism is on many points consistent carrying out of the principles laid down in the Upanishads. Buddha, being a Kshatriya, was trained as a boy in all military exercises and knightly accomplishments, but it is not indicated in the early books that he was accomplished in Brahminical lore. So we find in point of fact that the essential fact of the Upanishads is not grasped by the early Buddhists. Moreover, the doctrines of the Upanishads were still esoteric truths known only to a few in pupillary succession. So Oldenberg says in his "Buddha" that there is no passage where the Buddhistic text speaks of the Brahman of the Upanishads, even for polemical purposes. The Brahman as the Universal One is not alluded to by the Buddhists either as an element of an alien, or of their creed, though there were very frequent mentions of God Brahma. So it has been remarked with perfect justice by A. Worsley in his "Concepts of Monism," page 197, "it is possible that had Gautama chanced to meet in his earliest wanderings two teachers of the highest truths of the Vedas, the whole history of the old world might have been changed." Buddha met no foemen worthy of his steel and was only acquainted with popular Brahminism. "For this reason," says Dr. A. Coomaraswamy in his book (p. 200), "the greater part of Buddhist polemics is unavoidably occupied in beating the air and wasted in ignorant misunderstanding.

"Historical Buddhism," says Sir S. Radhakrishnan, "means the spread of Upanishadic doctrines among the peoples. It thus helped to create a heritage which is still living to the present day. Such democratic upheavals are common features of the Hindu history." The genius of Hinduism is expansion and assimilation and these two forces of the Vedic Sakti are at work from times immemorial to the modern age. Buddha brought

into prominence the neglected truths of the Upanishads. He was not an innovator but only a restorer of the ancient Aryan way. Holmes in his "Creed of Buddha" says, "it was Buddha's mission to accept the idealism of the Upanishads at its best and make it available for the daily needs of mankind."

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

THE DEFENCE MECHANISM OF THE HUMAN BODY.[1]

Before I proceed to tell you something about the defence mechanism of the human body, I think it is essential that I should explain to you the reasons that led to the choice of the subject. Some of you who were present on the inauguration day of this Academy will remember what Sir C. V. Raman, the President, said to us while explaining the objects of the Academy. He said that the primary object of the Academy was to make every member tell the others about the problems he is most interested in. The subject of immunology being the one that is engaging my attention at present I could not think of a better theme for my lecture than the defence mechanism of the human body. The second reason for my choice of this subject is because I consider that for a mixed gathering of scientists such as the one before me, there is perhaps no other medical subject of greater interest than the one I have chosen. For, although originally the science of immunology was studied only by medical men for the purpose of solving urgent problems concerning diagnosis, prevention and cure of diseases, it is now being increasingly recognised that immunology is but an important branch of general biology and that its problems are of interest not only to the medical man and the biologist but also to the chemist, the physicist, and the mathematician. Furthermore it is the one branch of science, more than any other, that has benefited most by the recent advances in the sister sciences and thereby shown that the line of demarcation between the sciences is very faint indeed. The third and last reason for my choice of the subject is because immunology is

[1] Lecture delivered on 27th August 1932, under the auspices of "The Academy of the Arts and Sciences," Calcutta, at the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science, 210, Bow Bazar Street, Calcutta, by Dr. K. V. Krishnan, M.B., D.Sc., M.R.C.P. (Tropical School of Medicine).

a young science of recent development and our knowledge of it consists chiefly of a great volume of insufficiently correlated information, much of which is pure theory. There are more things unknown than known about immunology and this lack of definite and systematised knowledge on several questions connected with it has made the study of the subject all the more alluring. For, after all, you will admit that human nature being what it is, has always a special attraction for things new, for things imperfectly understood, and for things hidden. I, therefore, feel confident that the subject of immunity will interest you all alike.

That a protective mechanism exists for guarding the human body from the ravages of disease was recognised centuries ago. In ancient China and India the people had made the simple observation that a person who has recovered from an infectious disease, such as small-pox, is thereafter resistent to re-infection by the virus of the same disease. Thucydides in Greece had also made somewhat similar observations with regard to the plague. But none of these people tried to explain or understand the nature of the protective mechanism involved in this process. A few centuries later Jenner made the remarkable discovery that inoculation with cow-pox protected against small-pox and introduced vaccination with calf lymph as a method for preventing the disease. Then came Pasteur and his monumental work on rabies. He found that the spinal cords of rabbits dying of experimental rabies gradually lost their virulence when dried, and that emulsions of these dried cords when inoculated into human beings bitten by mad dogs, protected them from hydrophobia and death. These two discoveries in fact laid the foundations of the science of immunology and indicated the far-reaching importance of a study of its problems. Then came Metschinikoff with his phagocytic theory of immunity and Ehrlich with his humoral theory of immunity. While the one claimed that certain cells of the body were responsible for the overcoming of disease, the other maintained that certain

constituents of the blood serum and body fluids were the chief agents of protection. The story of the ardent contest between these two champions is quite familiar to most of you. All that I need to tell you now is that to the modern immunologist, this classical controversy has lost all its pristine interest and significance. To him it is but an important effective stimulus to both experiment and criticism. One direct outcome of this heated controversy was the discovery of a series of new serological reactions such as the agglutination reaction by Gruber and Durham, the precipitation reaction by Kraus, the complement fixation reaction by Bordet and Gengou and several such others. Side by side with these discoveries the value of immune sera in the treatment of certain infectious diseases, like diphtheria and tetanus, were being demonstrated and explanations for the various serological reactions, and beneficial effects of antisera in treatment were being sought. Very soon Ehrlich came forward with his ingenious chemical theory of immunity, with its fascinating side chains and receptors and it was accepted practically by every one with awe and reverence. Then came Bordet. He recognised the close similarity between the immunological reactions and the reactions of colloidal chemistry and put forward his physical theory to explain the various serological phenomena. His experiments showed that immunological reactions followed the laws governing the phenomena associated with adsorption at surfaces and interfaces and as such were subjected to physical rather than chemical laws. This theory has only one great shortcoming and that is, it fails to explain adequately the specificity of the immunological reactions. More recent studies, however, show that a correct explanation for all the serological phenomena noted is possible only by a combination of the physical and chemical theories of immunity and assuming a primary colloidal adsorption and a secondary chemical union. Last of all comes the work of Loeb on the behaviour of protein solutions and the investigations of Landstenier and Pick on the chemical structure of protein

molecules and their relation to immunological specificity. These important researches that are being conducted at the present time bid fair to throw more light not only into our knowledge of immunity reactions but also on the chemistry of proteins which is at present very little understood.

Having outlined the historical development of our knowledge regarding the defence mechanism of the human body let me tell you something about it, from the evolutionary point of view. In the long course of evolution of living beings, it seems probable that the lower forms of life arose far in advance of the more highly differentiated forms. So much so, the latter from the very moment of their first appearance on this earth had to compete for their place in nature with a vast number of microbial forms. In the course of the adjustments necessitated by this complex communal existence various forms of parasitism were established. As a defence against parasitism and the abnormal conditions arising from it, mechanisms of protection of different degrees of efficiency were developed. Even in the most primitive forms of life one or more simple means of self-defence are discernible. Higher up the scale as the needs for self-preservation grow greater the mechanism of defence also becomes more and more complex and when we reach man we find that this mechanism is very intricate and very difficult to understand. By way of illustration let me outline the course of development of the defence mechanism from the lowest to the highest animal.

Take an unicellular animal like amoeba, and give it to eat a red blood corpuscle and a carbon particle. It takes up both, but it very soon rejects the carbon particle, and digests the red blood corpuscle. By repeating this experiment several times it has been shown that the amoeba can be trained not to take the carbon particle at all. This then is the simplest form of defence mechanism and is just an adaptation of the ordinary feeding mechanism.

Next let us take a simple multicellular animal as the hydra or the sea anemones; here we find that certain cells of the

mesenterial filaments do exactly the same thing that the amoeba does. The only difference is that being a multicellular animal, there is division of labour and to certain special cells have been relegated the power to deal with animate and inanimate particles that are swept into the interior of the animal and to dispose of them in a way best suited to the interest of the animal.

Next passing to the Daphnia or the water flea which is still higher up in the evolutionary scale, the defence mechanism is found to be principally a phagocytic one. When you place this minute aquatic animal in water containing Monospora or yeast cells and observe it under the microscope you can see the spores penetrating the wall of the intestinal canal and making their way into the body cavity of the animal. Here they are attacked by certain wandering phagocytic cells which first engulf them and later digest them completely. This prevents the proliferation of the parasites within the body cavity of the Daphnia and the infection is soon overcome. If on the other hand, the arrival of the phagocytic cells to the focus of infection is delayed or their phagocytic and digestive powers are interfered with then the spores rapidly proliferate and a generalised infection results leading to the speedy death of the Daphnia. In this aquatic animal again we find that phagocytosis is the principal factor in the overcoming of its infections.

When next we take the lower cold-blooded vertebrates, we find that their mechanism is somewhat similar to that in the Daphnia. If, for instance, we inject into these animals a culture of *Bacillus anthracis*, they respond to it by a local accumulation of wandering phagocytic cells which rapidly ingest and digest the bacilli.

Finally when we take up the study of the mechanism of defence in the warm-blooded vertebrates, we find that it is essentially the same as in the less complex forms, but that in addition several other mechanisms are also involved. Details of these mechanisms have been worked out in animals such as the guinea pigs, rabbits, and dogs by injection of various substances into them and our knowledge of the mechanism in man

is to a large extent derived from these experiments. As our chief interest lies in the understanding of the defence mechanism in man let me take it up next for detailed consideration.

The defence mechanism of the human body is something like a motor engine. It is composed of several parts and in order to understand how the mechanism as a whole works one has to know first what the parts are and then how each part functions. Of the component parts there are three that are relatively more important than the rest, namely the phagocytic mechanism, the antibody mechanism and the anaphylactic mechanism and these three alone need be considered here.

In the blood and tissues of man there are certain phagocytic cells usually spoken of as polymorphonuclear cells, and the wandering cells of the reticulo-endothelial system which have retained the primitive capacity for intracellular digestion. Both these cells have a very wide distribution throughout the body and their chief function is to pick up all foreign particles, animate and inanimate, that gain access into the body and destroy or dispose of them in a suitable manner. They are both provided within their cytoplasm with proteolytic ferments that are capable of digesting proteins to the aminoacid stage. Depending upon the nature of the invading organism one or the other of these two cells assumes the rôle of phagocytosis and destruction. For example when the infecting agent is a pyogenic coccus like the staphylococcus, then the polymorphonuclear leuocytes play an important part in their destruction; but if the agent is a protozoa like the malarial parasite then the cells of the reticulo-endothelial tissue play the predominant part. The latter cells appear to be concerned chiefly with the removal of those foreign particles that are somewhat difficult to destroy or digest. This partly explains why we get different types of cell reactions in different infectious diseases and why the medical man studies the number and distribution of blood cells to find out the probable nature of a disease.

It is not to be supposed that in every instance the

phagocytes are successful in destroying the parasites they pick up. At times even growth and multiplication of the ingested organisms take place within the phagocytic cells. When such cells die, the living organisms contained in them are liberated and cause an infection of the tissue in which they chance to be deposited. This shows how infection is carried from one tissue to another and how the phagocytes prove at times harmful instead of helpful. It can be shown by simple test-tube experiments that one of the factors that prevent such occurrences and help the phagocytes to perform their destructive function better and more efficiently, is the antibody mechanism. If, for example, phagocytes are washed free of serum, mixed with certain bacteria, and examined under the microscope, very few phagocytes will be seen to have taken up the bacteria. If next we add to this mixture a small quantity of fresh normal serum then we can see a relatively larger number of phagocytes taking up the bacteria. But if instead of normal serum we add immune serum, that is serum containing specific antibodies for the bacteria, then not only can an enormous number of phagocytes be seen with bacteria in their cytoplasm but several of the bacteria contained within the phagocytes are found to be in various stages of disintegration. This shows that in the presence of antibodies large numbers of bacteria are taken up and successfully destroyed by phagocytes and that phagocytosis represents only one part of the story and to get a complete picture of immunity we will have to consider other mechanisms as well.

One of the interesting problems in connection with the phagocytes is the mechanism of phagocytosis. The question is how do the phagocytes take up particulate matter from their environment? Is it a process analogous to ingestion by the relatively highly developed organisms involving a definite expenditure of energy or is it a process involving decrease of free energy? That is to say does the phagocyte ingest substances because of surface tension or in spite of it. The researches

conducted so far show that surface tension is only one of the factors concerned in phagocytosis and that possibly other factors also play a part.

Next we come to a consideration of the antibody mechanism. This mechanism owes its existence to the fact that certain tissue cells of our body have the power to respond in a specific way when substances of a given chemical and physical structure gain an entrance into the blood or tissues. That is to say when certain protein substances called antigens are injected into our blood or tissues there appears after a time in the circulating blood certain substances called antibodies which specifically react with the injected antigen when the two are brought together. Remembering that the aetiological agents of infectious diseases are composed of protein substances which possess this antigenic property, it can easily be understood how readily they can stimulate antibody production.

When pathogenic organisms gain access to our bodies antibodies are formed. Each antibody produced is specific for the organism that stimulates its production. If in one and the same organism there are more than one antigenic substances then antibodies will be formed against each one of these substances and if the organism is a toxin-producer then antibodies will be produced against the toxin as well. Thus for one organism there may be produced more than one antibody and each one of these antibodies will combine specifically only with the antigenic substance that stimulated its production. It is this extreme specificity of the antigens and antibodies that has made immunology a very interesting subject for study. Recent investigations show that this immunological specificity is a function of the chemical structure of the particular protein antigen.

Efforts have been made to isolate antibodies in a pure state, but so far no success has resulted. Therefore, we do not possess any definite knowledge regarding their chemical nature or structure. All that we know about them is that they are associated with globulins of the blood plasma, and that their presence

can be demonstrated by certain serological tests. For example, if we mix serum containing antibodies with the organism that stimulated its production in the presence of electrolytes in a test tube, then the organism can be seen to clump together and settle down to the bottom of the tube. What happens is, the organism adsorbs the antibody and becomes very sensitive to the presence of electrolytes. The latter brings about a reduction in the electrical charge on the surface of the organism with the result that the cohesive force between the individual organisms is increased, the organisms clump together and finally settle down to the bottom of the test tube. The above phenomenon that occurs in the test tube has experimentally been shown to take place inside the animal body and it is this phenomenon that is responsible for the increased success of the phagocyte in destroying the organisms in the presence of specific antibodies.

Attempts have been made to find out where and how the antibodies are formed. Although there is no definite information on the subject it is supposed that antigenic substances when introduced into the body are picked up by phagocytic cells and taken to the spleen and liver and deposited there. Here certain cells of the reticulo-endothelial system are stimulated by these substances in such a way that specific antibodies are produced. When the amount of antibodies produced reaches a certain concentration, they begin to appear in the circulating blood.

The rôle of circulating antibodies in immunity has also been studied very extensively. Taking the evidence as a whole it appears that whenever a disease is due to the toxins of an organism rather than to the organism itself then an increase of antibody in the circulating blood means an increase of protection. In diseases like diphtheria and tetanus where the damage is caused chiefly by the toxin of the organism, marvellous results can be achieved by the use of serum containing anti-toxic antibodies. This is so because all that is required to overcome the disease is to neutralise the toxin. The anti-toxin does this perfectly and in proportion to the amount available. Greater

this amount better the neutralisation and better the immunity. The relation between anti-toxin and immunity is similar to the relation between the quantity of petrol in a motor engine and the distance travelled. Just as you can go a longer distance with more petrol than with less, you can cure cases better with more anti-toxin than with less.

On the other hand in diseases that are directly due to the multiplication of the invading organisms, it is found that increase of antibody in the circulating blood does not necessarily mean increase of immunity. This is so because the function of anti-bodies in these diseases is only to prepare the organisms for phagocytosis and other destructive processes, and unless the processes are efficient, antibodies by themselves will not be of much use. For preparing the organism for phagocytosis, etc., only a limited amount of antibody is required and when more than this is present it will not be of any additional benefit. This explains why in diseases like pneumonia administration of serum containing antibodies to the patient is of very limited value. The best way to understand the true rôle of these anti-bacterial antibodies is by taking the analogy of the engine again. Antibodies, as I said before, correspond to the petrol; some petrol in the tank is certainly better than no petrol, but a full tank is surely not better than a half tank. Same is true of this type of antibody.

Finally we come to a consideration of anaphylactic immunity In some cases the antigenic substances liberated from parasitic organisms within the body, act by increasing the reacting capacity of the body cells in such a way that even when a very small amount of the same antigen is introduced at a later date the body responds by a violent reaction. This form of immunity is best illustrated in connection with tuberculosis. If when a person has a mild tuberculous infection, we inject into his skin a small amount of an extract of tubercle bacilli, he will react with a violent inflammation; but the same dose of extract when injected into a healthy person produces no such reaction

whatsoever. This difference in response in the two persons is because in the first individual the infection with tuberculosis has brought his body cells to a state of great sensitiveness or irritability, and is thereby preventing any further entry of the same organism. This peculiar protective mechanism functions only so long as the primary infection that causes it lasts. It is, therefore, sometimes called "infection immunity" because the immunity is present only when the infection is present. In those diseases where this is the chief type of immunity concerned, it is better to have a mild infection of the disease well under check than to be completely free from it, for in the first case one will be immune to fresh doses of infection and in the second he will not be.

Having explained to you the three chief component parts of the defence mechanism, I wish to point out that every case of cure and immunity cannot be explained away purely on the basis of these mechanisms. There are occasions when one is at a loss to find an explanation for the immunity that has occurred. There are as many cases on record of protection in the absence of demonstrable antibodies as there are of absence of protection in the presence of antibodies. These have naturally led immunologists to recognise that possibly there are other mechanisms concerned in protection as well. Recently Besredka has put forward his new and interesting theory of local immunity in an attempt to explain some of these observed discrepancies. His theory supposes that the cells of the tissues attacked are the cells primarily concerned in protection and not antibodies or phagocytes. Besredka says "the antibodies should be without hesitation stripped of their importance as their function in immunity is in reality entirely secondary or negative in certain cases." He supports this assumption by the following line of arguments. Many pathogenic organisms have a tendency to get localised in some one particular tissue of the body, irrespective of the route of entry of the organisms. For example, the typhoid and dysentery bacilli attack the intestines

and the anthrax bacilli the skin. If these tissues are rendered insusceptible to attack, then the whole animal will be immune. Therefore what is to be aimed at is not the production of anti-bodies or phagocytes but effective local tissue immunity. He thinks that this can be done by introducing the virus of disease in a particular form directly into the tissues concerned and by stimulating the production of "anti-virus." This anti-virus saturates the tissue cells and renders them insensitive to the toxic action of the organisms. Taking the available evidence as a whole, there appears to be some support for the view that local tissue immunity as opposed to a general cellulo-humoral immunity plays some part in resistance to bacterial infection; but there is little or no reason to believe that the mechanism involved in this immunity is in any way different from what we have already considered. For, when local immunisation is pushed to a point at which general resistance is markedly increased it is always possible to demonstrate the presence of protective antibodies. Therefore, while admitting that the method of vaccination advocated by Besredka is good, most immunologists do not accept his theory of local immunity as sound.

By way of conclusion I may add that in presenting the subject of immunity in the manner I have done, it has been my endeavour to show how the problems of the immunity are of interest not only to the medical man, but also to workers in other branches of science as well. As I told you in the beginning the unsolved problems in immunology are numerous and the subject-matter of these problems lies on the border between different branches of science. No solution of these problems is possible unless it be through team work or the willing co-operation of specialists in the various branches of science. Therefore there is no better way of concluding this lecture than by an appeal for such a co-operation and in doing that I am sure I will also be indirectly appealing for the success of this Academy under whose auspices we have met here to-day.

K. V. KRISHNAN

THE ORDEAL OF MIRABAI

(A Short Story.)

Not very long ago, in the land of Rajasthan, there was a king by name Kumbho Singh. His reign was wise and just. He was very handsome. He was loved by his subjects as a brave, warlike leader. Tales of his bravery and leadership are still prevalent in India. At Chitor, there is a "Tower of Victory" erected by this king which testifies to his generalship. He was a great builder of temples and forts. Besides, he was a learned man and wrote poetry and hymns in honour of Lord Krishna.

At the time when our story begins, Rana Kumbho was sitting in his favourite palace 'Jagajiwan.' He was singing and amusing himself. In the meanwhile, a messenger came and announced the arrival of the queen. The queen was covered with a veil of embroidered muslin. No sooner she came in presence of her lord, she said, "All hail, lord ! Hail to thee, king of Udaipur." He received the queen very courteously and asked her to sit on a couch. She nodded and sat down and their erudite conversation began.

"Yesterday night," the queen said, "when we were sitting together, you did talk something about the stars. What is it ? Please tell me." "I wish to compose some lines of poetry, dear," he said, "on these beautiful stars. I feel, when I look to the sky at night, who has set these precious stones on the blue marble ? Or flowers of paradise are floating on this vast blue ocean. Or who has blown these twinkling flowers all ? Perhaps, Lord Krishna has emptied the pot of celestial jewellery. To me the laughing stars with half-shut eyes appear like young brides; or some tender fairy of Indra's heaven is weaving this blue cloth. Or the master painter of this universe is throwing shining colours to charm his beloved. Or as through the green grass shine glow-

worms, so twinkle the stars through the heaven blue. But, dear queen, my imagination is unspotaneous without you. I cannot sing with full-throated ease. You must be near enough to me. Thou art my inspiration ; without you poetry is useless."

"I am too humble to inspire you, my lord," said the queen. "The Ruler of this great universe is the inspirer of all. Why not try to compose some beautiful lines on Him, so that I may sing to please Him."

Seldom we find such a union of royal couple. How fortunate it is to have a harmony of thoughts between husband and wife. It is a rare blessing belonging to very few. Wherever the ladies are honoured and respected, there dwells Lord Krishna. There He plays and there He rejoices."

The Rana became very glad to hear the above words of the queen. "Let us pray together," he said, "to that Almighty Lord to make us happy for ever." "Doubt it not, my lord," she said, "thou art my all. I am your humble servant. Ask of Him not this material happiness but eternal happiness. Yours shall be the joy in this world. As usual, let us go into the temple of Lord Vishnu to ask for His divine blessings."

So both of them set out towards the temple in a palanquin. To the north of the city, at a distance of few miles, stands this temple of the guardian God of Udaipur—Shri Vishnu. Queen Mirabai went straight up under the domed chamber and stood before the idol. Rana Kumbho stood outside the door. Both of them bowing low prayed to Lord Vishnu. At this time queen Mirabai sang her favourite song in a most attractive tune :

"Where art thou O Sweet Kanhya
Hail, all hail to Thee;
Looks with loving eye on all
Thee, I long to see."

She sang very cheerfully. It was all calm and quiet. After all it was a female voice, melodious and sweet. It is a rare privilege

to hear a woman sing when she is all alone. Mirabai was a born poetess and a gifted singer. It is said, when Mirabai sang cobras in the distant forest danced with folded hoods. Not only that, but the cloud that sailed by in the sky stood still to hear her sing. It is no exaggeration to say, then, that India had such mighty singers that at their sweet voice and will rain poured forth in torrents and in the evening the lamps were lighted.

While she was singing thus, a male voice broke the sacred silence of the temple by crying aloud in amazement, "How fine!" At this the Rana's eyes grew like red-hot iron and his right hand turned to the scabbard. "Whence this voice?" He searched each and every corner of the temple but there was no one, except the maidservants of the queen and four palanquin-bearers who stood outside the temple. Then the royal concert without any trace of the man returned to the palace.

II

At that time Akbar the Great, ruled at Delhi. Indeed he was great. His figure was tall with long arms. His son describes 'his visage full of godly dignity.' Akbar at the end of his reign, like Henry VIII of England, made himself Head of the Church and Defender of the Faith. Later on, he organised a new religion, the Din Ilahi or Divine Faith. This novel creed died with its author. He knew the hearts of men and how to win from foes a loyalty which was a tribute to his genius. Many learned men basked in the royal sunshine. It was India's golden age.

In those days the kings of Delhi used to sit in in "Diwan-i-khas" or in the Durbar Hall. It was a custom with Akbar to receive his courtiers in this hall with special respect and honour. He was eagerly waiting for some one.

Now, at the same moment, a man was walking hurriedly through the "Chandani Chowk" of Delhi. He was richly dressed. He was muttering to himself some song. His gait of

walking showed that he was absent-minded and was quite engrossed in his song. At last he reached the palace royal. His arrival was announced to the king by the messenger. He came and bowing very low sat near the king.

"What's to about our work, Tansen," said the king. "Have you some new plan to carry out our proposal." After this both of them retired into a private chamber for consultation.

Tansen was a famous singer and musician of Akbar's court. Not only that he was his trusted councillor and intimate friend; he was one of the nine jewels which adorned his court. After having gone in the private chamber Akbar said, "Well, sir, what is the plan? How to carry it out?" "You know it well, my lord," said Tansen, "these Rajputs have a strict purda system. Besides, Rajputs of Chitor are like fierce lions and to enter the harem means to enter the lion's den. How will thy wish be fulfilled; it is rather a difficult task." "Difficult as it is, sir," said Akbar, "I have entrusted to you this work. Even the mountains move and beasts become quiet and gentle when you sing. Master of thy art you are; so I hope you will effect our entry in the Rajput court by your charming song." "Right you are, Your Majesty," said Tansen, "but my song is of no use. I can make my entry in a well-armed place or in a fortified place by my music but much more difficult it is to get an entrance in the Rajput's harem. Yet I have succeeded in my plan. I cast aside my male dress and dressed myself in woman's clothings. Thus disguised I went into the temple to hear the song of Mirabai. Her voice is sweeter than that of the fairies of heavens. I was so enchanted by her song that in my reverie I shouted 'How fine.' This action of mine caused a strict search of the temple to be made and anyhow I came back." "Whatever befall, dear Tansen," said Akbar, "I must hear her sing. I must see that chaste and pious lady." "Well my ears have been captivated so much," said Tansen, "I hear her voice, as if it is on the rolling air, I hear her voice in the running waters, she stands before my mind's eye in the rising sun and in the setting captivates her art."

"Dearest Tansen, let me hear her at least once in life." "To see her and hear her song, my Lord," said Tansen, "is the danger signal of war."

After a little deliberation both of them came to some definite plan. "But to travel through the country of Rajasthan in this rich court dress," suggested the king, "would expose us to danger, so let us put on mean and poor clothes like *Sadhus*, and dye our faces with ashes, so that we may be taken for ordinary country Sadhus and attract no attention." "And we shall go more safely," suggested Tansen, "if both of us are disguised as Sadhus." Accordingly, it was settled that both of them should wear the clothes of Sadhus, and that they should enter the temple as such. Having made the necessary preparation, they left the court without being noticed.

III

It was an *Ekadashi*-day of the great God. Men all over India pray to and worship him. Now, it came to pass on that day in the afternoon at Udaipur, monks and nuns came from far off to hear the songs of Mirabai. In this crowd there were two men dressed in the religious wanderer's yellow cloth with matted hair. Each one had a begging bowl and a tall staff in his hand and wandered from door to door, asking for alms. Thus these two Sadhus one of whom was rather tall and the other of medium height arrived at the temple.

The temple of the Great God was well decorated. The scene was all magnificence. It was an atmosphere of sanctity. The amphitheatre of the temple was fully packed with men and women. Our two Sadhus sat under a lofty arch in front of the idol of Shree Vishnu, so as to have a clear view of everything. At the appointed hour surrounded by her escort the Queen Mirabai entered. After a short and silent prayer she began her songs. She sang continuously for two hours. Particularly, she forgot

herself when she was singing—

"The time has come, O Lord,
When Thou should'st come to play
And bless our land, O Lord,
Come Thou, O dear I pray
And make us free, O Lord,
Sing once again I say
Thy vital message, O Lord."

Our Sadhus were completely captivated by her songs. The tall one was about to go and bow at her feet, but the other one prevented him and reprimanded him for his rash and reckless act; anyhow he kept quiet.

At the end of the prayer, according to Aryan custom Mirabai came with the burning fire in a dish to circulate it amongst the audience. This process is known as *Arti*. She came towards the arch where our Sadhus were sitting. The tall one bowed humbly to her and drew from his pocket a valuable garland, studded with gems and emeralds and taking it in his right hand said, "Mother dear, throw this wreath of beautiful gems round the neck of the Great God." She was wonderstruck with the dazzling light of the gems and asked him as to how he came by it. "I got it," he said, "while I was playing and swimming along the banks of the Jumna and from that day I have made a vow to throw it round the neck of the Great God. Please oblige me with this much." Mirabai blessed the man and she went straight up to the idol and adorned it with the precious garland.

The story of the garland spread like wild fire in the city and at last it reached the ears of the Rana. He saw it. He showed it to expert jewellers. One of them said that this garland belongs to Akbar the Great, Emperor of Delhi. When he heard this he felt as if his heart would break. "What," he thought to himself. "Ah, cruel is this deed on the part of the queen; it is worse to me than death." He forthwith sent the messengers for her. Mirabai came, folded her hands

before her husband and said, "O dear and blessed Lord, suspect me not of evil. Except you, there is no one in the whole world on whom I look as a husband. Let the Gods of the world tell you truly that every thought of mine has been for you."

But the Rana's anger was swelled to a high pitch. He would not listen to anybody. He would not pardon her. At last he ordered her to leave his kingdom and not to return back. She was banished.

She composed herself and said quietly, "Well, my Lord, your orders will be obeyed. We came together in the presence of sacred fire and you took me by the hand and said 'Verily I shall be ever thine.' I am sure, the same sacred fire will bring us together again," uttering these words she left the palace and departed.

IV

Next day in accordance with the Rana's orders and especially to keep the word of her husband Mirabai left the kingdom at mid-night. She was a dutiful wife. Alone, all alone, walking, she remembered her pet birds and things—nay ghost-like they haunted her path. She felt very sorry that she would not be able to see those things again. She was "like a child crying in the night ; a child crying for the light" and with nothing but a cry. On the other hand, like a pious Hindu lady, she pondered over the transitoriness of life and its objects. To her this universe appeared an illusion, a *maya*. One must try to escape from the endless circle of rebirths. At last, in dark despair she began to think. Is this the end of all my life? Is this the end? Is this the end?—Death! On her way she came across a river. It was the Gambhira—really very deep according to its name. She sat on the banks and prayed to the Lord. It was the only way for her to win salvation or *Mukti*—her sweetest prayer. She jumped into the flowing river and wanted to end her life.

Nothing—these seven letters tell us that nothing is the 'be-all and end-all' of all things. A life of nothings—nothing on globe. But the Lord of the universe did not will so.

Early on the morrow, to her utter surprise she found herself on the banks of Jumna. It was a pleasant morning. Birds were up in the sky and they were twittering and chirping in sweet notes "good morning;" cowherds and peasants were busy with their work. Ferrymen on the banks were busy carrying men and women to and fro. She rubbed her eyes. She thought she was in a dream. After a while she recollected the incidents of last night and it became quite clear as to how she came floating down in the Jumna river. She prayed, "For all thy blessings, O Lord, I thank Thee." Further, she sang her own prayer—

"Speak to me from the heaven high,
Lead me, my Lord, with thine own hand,
Do not leave me on Jumna's sand
Speak to me from the shining sky."

After her short prayer she looked round for she did not know anybody was near. Beside her stood a bright shepherd lad. He was full of sport. "Keep up your courage, dear mother," he said, "do not think of dying." He showed her the nearest way to Brindaban.

Season after season passed. The exiled lady sought refuge in a monk's cottage at Brindaban. She used to pray day and night. In short she passed a life of penance—pure and simple.

Now, let us turn our attention for a short time towards Udaipur. The people praised Mirabai for her virtues and pitied her on account of the Rana's banishment. Rana Kumbho's kingdom became the object of divine wrath. Plague, pestilence and wars devastated the country. For a time, it seemed as if, 'the whole world yawn'd around him like a hell.' In the end, the Rana's ministers and courtiers persuaded him to call back Mirabai from Brindaban. He too was much distressed at her departure

and became sad and silent ; for she was the 'light of his palace.' His sister, Padmavati, persuaded him much to bring back Mirabai. At last, he agreed and set out himself to bring her back.

It so happened that the hermitage in which Mirabai had settled was far away from Udaipur, and one day, before she had been there long, Mira met with a strange surprise.

She was engrossed in deep meditation and when it was over, a man appeared before her and asked her pardon for his ill treatment towards her No sooner she saw him she bowed to his feet. " God is all merciful," she said; "at last you remembered me. Now, the peace of God came into my life in thy presence, my Lord." "Indeed it is thy ordeal and devotion towards your husband," said the Rana, "which has brought me here to request you to come back to the palace."

" Husband is my all," she said, " what more I want. My desire is fulfilled. I got my love back."

On the auspicious day both of them started back for Udaipur. Dear readers, it was indeed a merry home coming. I have tried to describe her devotion and ordeal but much more difficult is it to give an idea how sweetly she sang. My humble pen is powerless to describe it.

Like a flower fragrant Mirabai's fame spread all over India, and her abode became a place of pilgrimage. To this day her songs round the simple fires are sung and merry rings the temple bell, still echoing her songs in this happy land of India.

—VAMAN H. PANDIT

SAILING

It is a lovely thing to sail...to sail
When there is nothing but the sea ahead,
A sea that heaves a green or bluish trail
On every side when far off oceans spread
New wastes of water, mile on mile. I glance
Deep into sullen green, like bottle-glass ;
Or opals born of pale new moons advance
To vanish : or the tropic sea, a mass
Of indigo, glares brilliantly. And still,
In windless hours, the sea is crystal clear...
So clear that shadows sleep below the sill
Of waves, and curious irised fish seem near.
The winds and sky and sea become the friend
Of those who sail the sea to journey's end.

LOUISE A. NELSON

THE TRAGEDY OF BRAGANÇAS IN PORTUGAL

The recent death of Ex-king Manoel of Portugal at his home at Fulwell Park, Twickenham, brings to mind one of the most poignant tragedies of modern Europe, the tragedy of the House of Bragança. Monarch without a throne, the last king of the House of Bragança lived for twenty-two years at Twickenham, where the Dowager Queen Amelia, the exiled king's mother, was born—a not insignificant fact; for the Princess of Orleans was born at York House, Twickenham, then occupied by her father the Count of Paris driven into exile during the Second Empire. It was to Fulwell Park, that king Manoel, the "Unfortunate," as he was named, brought his Consort, Queen Augusta Victoria, a Princess of Hohenzollern, to whom he was married when he was forced to become an exile; and the royal exile died childless.

The Dukes of Bragança were the descendants of Nuno Alvares Pereira, the hero of the victory of Aljubarrota gained over the Spaniards and French by the allied forces of England and Portugal. This memorable battle gave independence to Portugal, and founded the dynasty of Aviz of which King John the First, who married the daughter of John of Gaunt, was the first representative. The Dukes of Bragança, says Oliveira Martins, the Portuguese historian, were really kings of Portugal. They owned almost one-third of the land, and their vassals numbered a hundred thousand. They lived like kings. It is interesting to note that one of their many servants rose to be a Governor of India. He was none other than the avaricious Martim Afonso de Sousa, Governor of India from 1542-45, who when informed that the Conjèveram Temples of Vijayanagram contained a fabulous treasure, thought "it was not un-Christian to spoil the heathen of their ill-gotten gains." The Braganças

were the haughtiest and wealthiest noblemen not only in Portugal but in the whole Peninsula and King John the Second, though he won the surname of the "Perfect King," fearing perhaps, that the Braganças stood in his way, had erected the scaffold on the Praça of Evora, wherein the Duke of Bragança was hanged.

King Manoel the First, the successor of John the Second, was surnamed the "Fortunate" because of the glory Portugal had acquired as the result of her discovery of a new way to India. Lisbon became the entrepot, which the Italian republics had so long held for Eastern and especially Indian trade. And often, as many as four hundred foreign and Portuguese ships, says a writer, anchored in the Tagus. But all at once this ephemeral glory vanished. A century had sufficed to reduce the Portuguese Empire to a pile of rubbish.

Seven candidates, however, disputed the throne of Portugal round the death-bed of Cardinal Henry, the aged and childless last king of the House of Aviz. Philip the Second of Spain was claiming the throne because his wife was a daughter of John the Third, and he himself, a descendant of King Manoel, whose daughter, the wife of Charles the Fifth, was his mother. The Duchess of Bragança was asserting her right to the throne, because she was the daughter of Edward, Manoel's second son. The half Jewish Dom Antonio, the Prior de Crato, was maintaining his legitimacy of birth and fighting for his claims arising from being son by a converted Jewess, of Louis, Duke of Beja, a younger son of Manoel. He had broken his Moorish fetters by the help of a Jew, and his daring escape from the Moors, when taken prisoner after Alcazer-Kebir, had made him a favourite with the masses whom he had reminded that the founder of the House of Aviz was a bastard like himself. Ranucio, the Prince of Parma, and Emmanuel, the Duke of Savoy, putting aside the statutes of Lamego, were also claiming the throne—the first as son of Maria of Portugal, grand-daughter of Manoel, and the latter as son of Manoel's daughter. The Queen Mother of France was

tracing her descent from Mathilda, wife of Affonso the Fourth of Portugal. The Pope claimed because Portugal was once feudatory to the See of Rome, and had no direct male heirs to the throne. Even Queen Elizabeth of England had gone so far as to declare that she had a right to dispute the interests of the House of Lancaster in Portugal. It was clear from the genealogy that if claims were to be decided by consanguinity alone, Philip II's was by far the most powerful. The University of Coimbra, after due consideration, declared in favour of the Duchess of Bragança. But "the Most Catholic Majesty" cared little for the opinion based on the statutes of Lamego. Acquaintas Philip of Spain was with the decadent Portuguese, he purchased with Castillian gold, the Portuguese who were at the time guiding the destinies of Portugal; and these men unhesitatingly accepting his bribe, looked forward to a permanent union of Portugal with Spain. The effort put forth during the great era of maritime exploration had led to the inevitable reaction. The inspiring poetry of the old religion of the country—the most prominent of all the national characteristics—was destroyed, and the peaceful message of Christ was turned into a blood-stained law of persecution. Nor had the principle of loyalty, so prominent in the Portuguese character, become less perverted than the religious principle; for rejoicings, instead of opposition, had met the Duke of Alba when he marched upon Lisbon and proclaimed Philip the First, of Portugal.

The Spanish Domination may have been a necessary evil; it may have been the lesser evil in a choice of evils—to quote a cynic; but it was in itself a thing of evil all the same. The sixty years of captivity from 1580-1640 were passed in sullen discontent and exasperation. This created a desire for the means of imparting new vigour to a nation that had distinct traditions, distinct usages and distinct speech. The epic poems, and the historical works, produced under the influence of the Spanish vassalage, were eloquent enough to remind the Portuguese they were worthy of a better fate. Among the men of

letters who encouraged the revival of independence were also the famous Jesuit Antonio Vieira, the intrepid defender of the persecuted Jew and the oppressed Indian of Brazil, and Freire de Andrade who told the life-story of Dom Joao de Castro,—the noblest of the Portuguese Viceroys of India,—who died, in India, the death of a pauper.

The Revolution of 1640 was a task worthy of patriotic Portugal. It brought the sixty years of vassalage to an end and enthroned the House of Bragança, on which centred the patriotic feelings of the Portuguese. When the eighth Duke of Bragança was chosen to ascend the throne, the edict published on that occasion concluded thus :—"The Portuguese in placing John the Fourth upon the throne, are justified by every incontrovertible right,—the right of succession and the constitutional laws of the kingdom—rights which are more than sufficient to overturn a forced and tyrannical possession of sixty years, established and maintained by force of arms." The accession of John the Fourth, the first representative of the House of Bragança marked, no doubt, a great event in the history of Portugal. But as an expiring lamp throws out a more vivid flame when about to expire, so did Portugal at this time. Thrilled with patriotic emotion, the Portuguese began the work of reconstruction by evoking their glorious past. They knew that the reigns of the first kings of the House of Aviz marked the acme of Portuguese power, but were unable to see that all that was great and original in it, proceeded not so much from the personal influence of these sovereigns, but from a kind of general inspiration which revealed itself everywhere in new ideas and a sagacious policy ; and they assumed towards the Crown the attitude of oriental servility. Indeed, the epoch was marked by a disheartening lack of constructive elements. From that time, Portugal rapidly decayed, until the Brazilian mines shed a blaze that for a time concealed her decay.

Brazil proved to Portugal a second India. Portugal inflamed to madness by the wealth of Brazil,—from which one

hundred million sterling were to be drawn, during the first half of the eighteenth century, in precious stones alone—became a nation lost to all self-control and her aberrations drove her to destruction. Anxious to impress the world with Portugal's wealth, King John the Fifth squandered all the gold and diamonds which came from the South American colony, in palaces, monasteries and chapels. The luxury, the waste, and the frivolity of the king, who, in the Convent of Odivellas, had a copy of the *Parc aux Cerfs*, would have made any Eastern Potentate envy the Portuguese Monarch. But nevertheless, John the Fifth was growing enthusiastic about the spirit of past ages. He wanted to "make the past live"; and he founded a Portuguese Academy or an academy of history that was to record the annals of by-gone days of grandeur. But the hired historian could give Portugal nothing better than the "Genealogical History of the Royal House"! The Brazilian mines were soon exhausted. Nine-tenths of the Brazilian wealth had gone to England in exchange for merchandise. It is interesting to recall at this point, that by the Methuen treaty—a treaty prepared by the ambassador of Queen Anne to the Court of King, Pedro the Second, John the Fifth's father—England had agreed "to admit Portuguese wines upon the payment of 33½ per cent. less than the duty paid upon wines from France; and the woollen cloths of England, which had been prohibited in Portugal for twenty years, were to be admitted upon terms of proportionate advantage." The Portuguese found themselves hopelessly insolvent. The Jews, their creditors, were made to abandon the country which, of course, paralysed for ever the Portuguese trade. The king, who in exchange for the title of "most faithful majesty" had forced most valuable presents on the Pope, died in embarrassed circumstances, leaving a debt of three millions sterling. At this moment, Marquis de Pombal, the minister of John the Fifth's successor, appeared, and was hailed as the expected deliverer. "I found," said Marquis de Pombal, "a monarchy destitute of money, weakened by many revolutions, disturbed by various secret sects, and impoverished by its very

riches. A people subject to the grossest superstition, a nation whose manners might be likened to those of barbarians, a state governed by almost Asiatic customs, European only in name, with but the form of kingly government and the shadow of power." The re-building of Lisbon, after the earthquake of 1755, gave Pombal complete ascendancy over Joseph the First, whose prerogative he attempted to raise to an absolute Caesarism; and the famous Portuguese dictator did nothing towards giving the Monarchy its old aspect, and reviving the spirit of the Cortes which, in the best days of Portugal, were a check upon all political degradation. "In order to re-establish a state, it is necessary that it should be destroyed," were Pombal's words. But what remained of Pombal's twenty-seven years' rule, which rested on racks, gibbets, and dungeons? The all-powerful minister of Joseph the First was master, no doubt, and master he remained till the death of the pusillanimous king. Once more, the Portuguese messianic dream had not come true. There were no signs either of another Messiah arising in Portugal, to undertake the duties of "saviour" in such desperate circumstances. Such was the state of affairs, when Napoleon Buonaparte turned his eyes towards this westernmost state of Europe, and declared in the *Moniteur*, that "the house of Bragança had ceased to reign." The French invasion drove Portugal upon strange actions. John the Sixth, then Prince Regent, embarked for Brazil on the very spot whence, three centuries back, the Portuguese had sailed upon their historic enterprize. Once the Prince Regent led the Portuguese to believe that he had preferred being swept out of his kingdom with a broomstick, to being driven from it by the sword,—an action which, we must in fairness admit, was the result of the British Ambassador's counsels—they offered no resistance to the invading army. Junot entered Lisbon proclaiming the sole object of his invasion to be "the emancipation of Portugul from the yoke of England." But very soon Portugal was, according to Canning's words. "the fulcrum for the lever of England to wrench Napoleon from his power."

Meantime, the establishment of the Portuguese Court in Rio de Janeiro had accelerated the separatist tendencies of Brazil; and, strange to say, it was, to quote a Brazilian writer, "the descendant of a long line of European monarchs, who inaugurated the movement which severed the last and most faithful of the great divisions of South America from Transatlantic rule." Indeed, Brazil declared her independence investing Dom Pedro, who was the first-born of John the Sixth, with the title of Emperor of Brazil.

"It being incompatible with the interests of the empire of Brazil and with those of the kingdom of Portugal, that I should continue to be King of Portugal, and the Algarves," to quote the words of Dom Pedro in the Act of Abdication, given at the Palace, at Rio de Janeiro, the Emperor of Brazil abdicated the crown of Portugal in favour of his daughter Dona Maria,—a child of seven years—and accompanied the abdication with the grant of a free Constitutional Charter; and the fact deserves mention that the Plenipotentiary of Great Britain was requested by Dom Pedro to be the bearer to Portugal of the new Charter drawn after the British model. This resulted in civil wars,—wars that shed, in torrents, the blood of the nation—between the subjects of Queen Maria the Second and the partisans of her uncle Dom Miguel de Bragança. "I shall constitutionalise them by force," were the words of Dom Pedro, the giver of the Charter of 1826 in a letter to Marquis de Resende. But "a Charter drawn after the British model," we repeat what, years ago, we wrote in the *British Review* (London, January, 1914), could only work under influences that act decisively on a spirit already prepared for it, Puritan discipline of family life, which has been, for generations, the greatest force in English politics; and amongst the lessons which the eighty years of Constitutionalism taught, perhaps the most important to Portugal was the vital necessity of a moral discipline. Constitutionalism only came to confuse and embitter the Portuguese political development with factious

contentiousness, to fix resentment where there should only be generosity, and insolence where there should be gratitude." Queen Maria the Second died at the age of thirty, having undergone twenty years of unparalleled humiliation at the hands of her politicians, who would neither cultivate their mind nor discipline their character. To her eldest son, King Pedro the Fifth, however, the vocation of a king must have been full of meaning as he tramped the streets of Lisbon,—the city had witnessed the ravages of the cholera and yellow fever—to render his subjects every assistance he could; and the King's personal attention to the plague-stricken, undoubtedly gave a silver lining to the blackness of the cloud that, for nearly four months, hung over the land. King Pedro the Fifth knew the nation and the politicians were not identical, could not be confounded. The interests of the two were totally different, not to say incompatible. He, therefore, omitted no fair occasion of bringing before the mind of the people any bright example of moral excellence; and he earned for himself a reputation the memory of which still lives in the country. For months, his health had been impaired, but he had refused to leave his pestilence-stricken subjects. On the 11th November, 1861, King Pedro the Fifth died of cholera, in his twenty-fourth year of age. His younger brother Dom Fernando died on the 6th of the same month, and he was followed to the grave, soon after, by his brother Dom Joao. Thus in less than two months, three members of the Royal House of Bragança had fallen victims to the pestilence! On the young King's death, his brother Dom Luis—a Prince well acquainted with the writings of Shakespeare, whose *Hamlet* he translated into Portuguese,—was unexpectedly summoned to ascend the throne.

"If I were king, Marshal, I would have you publicly shot to-morrow. Now that you know what I think of your conduct, you can go." Thus spoke Queen Maria Pia, the Queen Consort, when Marshal Saldanha surrounded the Royal Palace and compelled King Louis the First—a King who possessed in an

eminent degree all the virtues of the best Constitutional monarchs—to dismiss the ministry in power. The Portuguese Constitutionalism—the sword was then the only effective power in the State—was nothing more than military despotism; and "were it not for Saldanha,"—the hero of the Peninsular campaigns, afterwards Portuguese Minister in London, where he died in 1876—"the Charter might have fallen to the ground," says a Portuguese historian. A past that glides from the grave tells its own story in plain language, and turbulence of ministerial warfare could have hardly gone farther under constitutional regime.

To these discordant elements was added another, not less dangerous: The dispute between Portugal and her ancient ally Great Britain, over boundaries in Manicaland and Shire Highlands in Africa, which intensified the Portuguese difficulties. The terms of the *ultimatum* of 1890 were undoubtedly humiliating to Portugal. The evacuation of Shire Highlands under the direct threat of a war declared by a powerful nation was distressing, and hence arose the suspicion that the sovereignty of Portugal was in danger. When Lord Salisbury, lacking that spirit of conciliation of great English statesmen, sent the *ultimatum*, at the very beginning of the reign of King Carlos, who, on the death of Louis the First, ascended the throne, little could the British Prime Minister have suspected that he was giving life to the Portuguese Republican Party that would one day menace the house of Bragança. Indeed, his Government yielding its powers to the Scottish missionaries and the party that represented the Rhodesian interests, fostered an intense spirit of republicanism in Portugal; and the Portuguese Republicans tried to seize the national crisis to attempt the establishment of a republic at Oporto, in January 1891. The King was made a traitor to his country, an accusation to which the Order of the Garter offered to King Carlos by Queen Victoria, when the question at issue had been settled, gave a superficial plausibility. Amid such inauspicious circumstances, King Carlos

began his kingly career. The ill luck which marked his ascension to the throne dogged him throughout the whole of his life.

But whilst the Republicans considered the *ultimatum* of 1890 a fitting opportunity to enlarge the wrongs of Portugal under monarchical regime the politicians, who surrounded the throne, imagined that a "Liberal Monarchy" would roll away the old ills of a nationality. A number of politicians tried the "Liberal Monarchy" year after year, and all of them failed, until their "liberalism" culminated in the notorious *rotativismo* by which opposing political parties shared the spoils of office in rotation, and were known collectively as *rotativos*. "Less liberalism and more character," were words which Eca de Queiroz put into the mouth of one of the personages of his story. No Portuguese writer sounded so profoundly, and so persistently, the Portuguese society, under the Constitutional regime, as Eca de Queiroz; and among the persons whom the distinguished author held up to disdain was the ridiculous Acacio, one of those Portuguese, who has a parrot command of pompous phraseology, but very little thinking power.

Something had to be done in the way of reform, or else it would doom the monarchy. It pleased, therefore, the King to choose Joao Franco,—the leader of a new party, with a programme that promised to appeal to the country,—and call him to his counsels. King Carlos saw things clearly. His intellect was certainly above the level of the country of which he had the singular misfortune to be a king. Eventually King Carlos gave the famous Dictator a special dessolution of Parliament which the King had denied to his predecessor.[1] Unfortunately, however,

[1] King Carlos addressed his Premier, Hintze Ribeiro, the following historic letter :—

Necessidades Palace,
16th May, 1905.

My Dear Hintze,

You came to see me yesterday afternoon in order to inform me of the opinion of your Government as to the best manner of procedure in view of present circumstances. As I consider that the proposed plan—failing the adoption of which you declare yourself and your colleagues unable to continue in office—is a serious one, and one requiring careful considera-

the Portuguese Dictator was a man too anxious for the consummation of his plans. Endowed with a violent imagination, and unable to distinguish noise from numbers, he vented himself in threats, which seemed better suited to a knight-errant than to a statesman. Instead of taming the spirit of revolution and converting it to his own purpose, Franco, to use the very words

tion, I told you that I preferred to think things well over, before giving any answer. I spent the whole night in reflection, and have postponed my reply until now as I was unwilling to give it without feeling myself absolutely justified, by certain information which I had still to receive in answering you as my conscience prompts me.

You and your cabinet consider yourself unable to continue, in the present state of affairs, unless I postpone the opening of Parliament, due to take place at the beginning of next month. Further you wish me to do this by a simple Decree without previously ascertaining the opinion of the Council of State. This postponement once granted, you said that you would take the responsibility of restoring a normal state of affairs in Lisbon, seeing that in the provinces this had undergone no change.

I do not consider it advisable to postpone the opening of Parliament. Apart from other inconveniences, it would cause an immediate revolt of public opinion not only amongst the Republicans,—that would only be natural—but also amongst all the Monarchists who are not supporting you on the present occasion. This would unquestionably be the result, and it is quite useless to harbour any illusions about it. All we should effect would be to add to the number of malcontents—already large enough owing to errors of long standing—a mass of people who have hitherto not been discontented. This does not seem to me the right moment for such a venture, and the responsibility for the decree, although apparently it would be a mere act of executive power, would be thrust once more on the shoulders of the king who would be held by all to be answerable for his signature. Such a step would be more likely in my opinion to disintegrate the Monarchy than to consolidate it, and once taken, the Government would afterwards only be able to keep together by resorting to violence and intimidation. Woe betide those who can only rule in such a manner! I am convinced that there are still other methods to employ for the attainment of the end which we should all of us desire—the well-being of the country. Violent repression may legitimately be used when it is absolutely necessary for the public good, but never so long as any other means remain untried. And I do not believe that we have yet tried all.

You see therefore that for these reasons I am conscientiously bound to refuse the postponement asked for by your Cabinet.

My decision shows no lack of personal confidence either in you or in your colleagues; it merely shews that there is a radical difference in our way of looking at the present state of affairs. You think in one way and I in another which I conscientiously believe to be the better.

Always yours sincerely,

CARLOS R.

P.S.—If you think it advisable you may read this letter in the Cabinet meeting.

he spoke in an interview he gave to a well-known French journalist, "was provoking quarrels in order to test the feelings of the people;" and the unfortunate King seemed to have anticipated that he was signing "his own death sentence," as he remarked to Franco when the decree giving the Dictator the power of transporting to Africa, any political offender, was being presented to him. The King's presentiment—strange to say—was an accomplished fact on the very day the *Diario de Governo*, of Saturday the 1st February, 1908, published the decree! "In our eyes, these men are worthy of admiration and when the formalism which still prevails in Portuguese society is overthrown, it will recognise in them true heroes, worthy sons of Portugal," were the words of the Republican Minister of the Interior, at the Lisbon demonstration held, some years after the regicide, in honour of the murderers of King Carlos. It is psychologically interesting to note these utterances.

The young King Manoel the Second saw his father and brother assassinated before his eyes. Slightly wounded, he escaped with his own life, and within three years of quick kaleidoscopic ministerial changes—five ministries were in power during his short reign—he was forced to become an exile. The royal exile, however, "used his position at the Court of St. James for the service of his country"—to quote the verdict which the oldest Lisbon daily pronounced upon the tragic career of the last King of Portugal—"being a veritable Portuguese Ambassador to Britain during the war and in all difficult circumstances." Besides, the whole of his fortune, —the fourth largest in Portugal—is reported to have been left by him to the country of his birth, and his world-famous library of priceless ancient Portuguese books, which the exiled King collected, to the Lisbon National Library. It was, of course, only right that the British cruiser *Concord* escorted by two Portuguese warships, should have brought back to Portugal the remains of King Manoel the Second, to be in

the historic Church of St. Vincent, beside the embalmed bodies of the kings of the House of Bragança.

Years ago, Mr. Ramsay Macdonald undertook to make himself the champion of republicanism in Portugal. We discussed his attitude in the article entitled *Mr. Ramsay Macdonald and Portugal*, published in the *New Age* (London, August 3, 1911). "No one doubted that Mr. Ramsay Macdonald believed himself to be influenced only by the purest motives," we wrote, "when he asked Sir Edward Grey why the British Government had not yet recognised the Portuguese Republic. But the sudden retreat of the Labour member gave one the impression that he had introduced a subject with whose conditions and environment he was but imperfectly acquainted..... We are not disposed to question the good faith with which any public man in England, in obedience to his creed of solidarity—which as a rule dissolves when translated from abstractions into realities,—undertakes to use his influence, however small, in favour of a particular cause or country. But we have a right to inquire upon what careful investigation the attitude confidently taken in the affairs of foreign countries is based. Unhappily, however, for the British public, there are prominent men in this country who are in such peculiar danger of talking at random when they move off their own ground into the politics of other countries..... Portugal is not rich in friends. Far from us the idea of discouraging anybody who befriends her in her trials, and helps her to recover the ground she has lost in the arena of international politics." Paradoxical, though it may seem, it was in the well-known Socialist Review[1] *The New Age*,

[1] "Many Englishmen will remember *The New Age*, which often used to be described as the most brilliant journal ever published in London, in whose pages such writers as J. C. Squire, St. John Ervine, Richard Aldington, and the Powys brothers, made their literary debut. Mr. A. R. Orage who edited *The New Age* for fifteen years, but who has for some time been living more or less in retirement, has now returned to journalism as editor of *The New English Weekly*. The first number of this new sixpenny weekly arrived in India by this week's mail. The lively good sense spoken in its editorial columns is a promise of a newspaper which will fulfil a valuable function in the

edited by Mr. A. R. Orage, that we wrote a series of articles on republican Portugal. We have assuredly no pleasure in the fulfilment of our predictions; the speed with which they have been accomplished exceeds our expectations.

Quite recently, Mr. George Bernard Shaw in a speech before the October Club, Oxford, said :—" My recollection of Mr. Ramsay Macdonald is of a fire-eating revolutionary Socialist. You may ask me, " Are you talking of the gentleman heard on Empire Day, who did not seem to have an idea in his head which he might not have had in the seventeenth century? " It was in the seventeenth century, we may observe, that Catherine of Bragança, who married Charles the Second of England, brought as a part of her dowry, the island of Bombay, a gift that urged England to a great imperial career. There is indeed, something grimly ironical in the tragedy of Braganças in Portugal!

V. DE BRAGANCA CUNHA

national life. The majority of English daily newspapers are at present very deservedly under a cloud. Only a few weeklies make any attempt truthfully to record and interpret the world's news. So let us welcome another." " Current Topics " (*The Times of India*, May 7, 1932).

A BENGALI FUNERAL RITE

There is a funeral rite prevalent in Hindu Bengal as canonical which attracts the attention of all interested observers. As the result of personal enquiry it can be stated with certainty that the rite can scarcely be traced in Hindu India outside Bengal. It requires the performance of an operation on the dead body of an expectant mother for the removal of the child in her womb irrespective of its maturity. The operation is usually performed on the cremation ground by the husband in or out of public view as circumstances permit. The feeling that overpowers the husband in performing the operation needs no mention. Except in towns where Hindu burial is prescribed the child or fœtal growth removed by the operation is not cremated but buried, cremation being the rule in towns referred to. This practice will have to be remembered in examining the religious foundation of the rite. The related r eligious authority is to be found in Raghunandan's "Ashtabingshatitattva"[1] in the Section headed "Shuddhitattvam" or "the truth relating to purification." The relevant portion of that section together with the commentary on it by Kashiram Bachaspati and the explanatory translation of the latter by Hrishikesh Shastri is literally translated below so far as the difference between the languages permit :

"Thus if an expectant mother dies, by cutting open her abdomen, child or foetus taken out, shall be placed elsewhere and then she should be cremated. In the words of the Brahmapuran the propriety of this course is generally laid down :— 'Ejected contents of women's wombs' and so forth "— *Raghunandan.*

[1] For the originals see Appendix.

"By the cutting open of the womb" and so forth: In apprehension of the child in the womb being alive and cremation of the contents of dead one's womb being improper it is proper to cremate the woman's body as enjoined after removal of the contents. The authoritative text is read (as follows):—"If by accident a woman dies with embryo in her womb by extracting the embryo from within she is to be cremated in due form"—*Kashiram Bachaspati.*

"There is another statement that when a woman with child dies, cremate her after removal, by cutting open her abdomen of its contents because 'Bury the contents of woman's womb thrown out.' By this injunction of Brahmapuran the burial is the only form of funeral provided for the contents thrown out of the wombs of dead women"—*Hrishikesh Shastri.*

It is to be observed that the only authority referred to by Raghunandan is from Brahmapuran. The text quoted from it is cited in full by Hrishikesh Shastri in his Bengali translation of the commentary. It does not mention the operation at all. It only ordains that human beings up to the age of seven shall not be burnt but buried. The inference drawn from it appears to be that the dead foetus or child must be separated from the body of its mother which must be cremated. But as a matter of fact, as previously observed, in all towns the growth in the womb is not cremated with the mother's body. This customary rite is so strictly enforced that without the operation mentioned no one will assist at the cremation under penalty of being expelled from his caste. In the present day in Calcutta in some cases the operation is performed at home by an agnate who is a surgeon or at any rate a surgeon of the same caste, the husband being mentally and physically unable to undertake the task. According to popular belief in the absence of the operation the mother's ghost will haunt the homes of all concerned with her funeral and ask for the child in her womb cremated with her unseparated. The restoration of the child being impossible she will kill a new-born babe and make it her ghost's baby.

But as all customs originate with some rational purpose it may not be useless to speculate on the origin of the operation mentioned. Most probably in the remote past a Bengali surgeon saved the life of a mature child in womb by what is known as the Cæsarian operation. Its connection with the fear of haunting ghost raises the inference that it was of non-religious origin. The attempt to put it on a religious basis was subsequently made with what success the extract from Raghunandan shows.

MOHINI MOHAN CHATTERJEE

APPENDIX

শুদ্ধিতত্ত্বম্—মুমূর্ষুমৃতকৃত্যানি।

এবং গর্ভবত্যাং মৃতায়াম্ উদরভেদেন গর্ভং নিঃসার্য্য স্থানান্তরে ক্ষিপেৎ। তস্যা দাহঃ কার্য্যঃ।

"স্ত্রীণান্তু পতিতো গর্ভ" ইত্যাদি ব্রহ্মপুরাণেন সামান্যাদ্ গর্ভপ্রতিপত্তি-বিধানাৎ। রঘুনন্দনঃ।

কাশিরাম বাচস্পতির টীকা :—

উদরভেদেনেতি। কদাচিদ্ গর্ভস্য জীবনাদিশঙ্কয়া মৃতস্য গর্ভস্য চাগ্নি-সংস্কারানর্হতয়া উদরং বিদার্য্য গর্ভং পৃথক্কৃত্য নারী যথাবিধি সংস্কার্য্যা। এতন্মূলকমেব বচনং পঠন্তি—"অথ চেদ্ গর্ভসংযুক্তা নারী দৈবাদ্বিপদ্যতে। অন্তঃশস্ত্যং পৃথক্কৃত্য সংস্কর্ত্তব্যা যথাবিধি॥" ক্ষিপেৎ ন তু দাহয়েৎ। ৯০॥

হৃষীকেশ শাস্ত্রিকৃত কাশিরামের টীকার বঙ্গানুবাদ :—

আরও একটী কথা এই যে, গর্ভবতী মৃত হইলে উদর চিরিয়া তাহার কিন্তু দাহ করিবে। কারণ, "স্ত্রীদিগের পতিত গর্ভ পুতিয়া রাখিবে" এই ব্রহ্মপুরাণের বচনের দ্বারা পুতিয়া রাখা স্বরূপ গর্ভমাত্রেরই এই একই প্রকার অন্ত্যেষ্টি ক্রিয়ার কথাই বলা হইয়াছে॥

" KRISHNA-GOUR-ALCHEMY "

Dark is my sin, as sable night,
Which Thy relieving hand took upon Thee
And made Thy hue darker still.

Mountain-high and heavy is my load of sin,
Yea, as high and heavy as Gobardhan's self,
Which liftest Thou with finger little.

Protecting the herd from torrential grine,
—Y'-clept thus by the devout
" Gobardhana-dhari Divine. "

And by Alchemy divine
Changed darkness into effulgence bright
Into " Gora's " golden hue,
All for the sinners' particular behoof.

DEVAPRASAD SARVADHIKARY

DEMOCRACY IN INDIA

After all is said and done in praise of Democracy, it must remain as only one form of government studied by Political Science. At the very best if the Rights of Man are postulated too individualistically, Democracy may appear as a form that evolves out of such a proposition. It is doubtful, therefore, whether we in India would have been so obsessed with the necessity for a democratic constitution if our Rulers, the English, had not had a bias in its favour, natural in a nation that has fostered parliamentary government so sedulously. So long ago as in the Age of Aristotle Democracy was not above suspicion, and we need not stand in abject awe before it to-day. Aristotle himself believed it to be a form of government somewhat perverted. The dividing line between a beneficial Democracy and Ochlocracy or mob-rule is thin indeed. Moreover, in practice, the people do not govern themselves directly but by their elected representatives who naturally tend to form a class with probably a more or less typical mentality. So by devious ways class rule again comes into its own. Indeed there has always been something anti-intellectual about Democracy and this tendency has never become so clear as under the difficulties of government in the 20th century. If in a nation with only a reasonable number of warring interests Democracy is unable to retain its halo, what of a country like India where inadequate education, an unsatisfactory franchise and every other conceivable difficulty exists to make Democracy a farce? The backwardness of India is truly a sufficient reason for withholding democratic autonomy from her, but it is no reason to withhold government by her own nationals so long as men exist in this country capable intellectually of ruling her. Enough has never been made of this vivid truth during the acrimonious fight for self-rule, because India's

destiny committed her at a certain stage to democratic government. What burning love can India, with her long training in submission to a higher will and unshaken belief in the inequality of man, have for a form of government which preaches the equality of Man (and, yet protects private property in every form!)?

However, for India the principal objection to Democracy cannot be her lack of interest in the equality of man, but rather her need for a scientific and enlightened government that can work its will unrestrainedly in the interests of a quick and healthy economic and social development. Our need is not for a government that soothes us into a false security: we need a government to rouse us from our fell sleeping sickness into activity by constant propaganda against all that is scientifically false in the nation's get-up. If we resist scientific ideas and orthodoxy holds sway it becomes the duty of such a government to shake us out of our vice. If it pandered to every superstition and whim, when could we escape from the vicious circle of ignorance and inertia? A government that is to shake India into an active existence must learn to say "No" vigorously and fearlessly.

Even in the most advanced nations of the West, even amongst those who are best adapted for it, elections in practice are very different to elections in theory. In India enfranchisement is virtually disenfranchisement; a man in India would be more truly enfranchised by passively allowing the proper type of Oligarchy to rule him mercilessly, than by voting in a sheep-like manner for an English-speaking mediocre plebian. What democratic Assembly could conceive and execute a plan for the forced development of India? A chamber that had on it at least one representative of every important part of the body politic could certainly never decide on a line of action resulting out of a steady regard for ultimate benefit. If money for education has to be provided for then the claim for money by the Orthodox for the provision of a Government department for

prevention of the slaughter of cows must also be provided for, otherwise the representatives of Orthodox Hinduism might fall down in a fit. The Government must provide both for the dissemination of scientific knowledge and religious instruction for Animists. The sword slays once but kindness many times.

MEHER DALAL.

EPITAPH

Through year on year I have filled and filled
my mind with beauty ;
Must it all be spilled one day in earth
and seep away ?
Perhaps a fairer-formed more perfect flower
May spring above me that I knew Greek art,
Perhaps the blades of grass above
will sing more ardently
That I had Italy within my heart.

FREDERICKA BLANKNER

ITALIAN YESTERDAY

There is a breath of sweetness in the air :
Spring from her drooping lids is lifting fragrant hair :
And yet I know a land where she is twice as fair.

FREDERICKA BLANKNER

AMERICA AND POETRY

Interview with Dr. Cousins.

[Prior to his departure from America on July 1, 1932, at the conclusion of his year as guest-lecturer on Modern English Poetry in the College of the City of New York (an institution with a thousand teachers and forty thousand students), Dr. James H. Cousins was interviewed by a graduating student on behalf of the Publicity Department of the College. The following is the text of the interview as prepared for the press of New York City, omitting biographical details. The interview contains important hints to Indian educationists in view of coming changes in the educational systems of India.]

Contrary to the generally accepted interpretations of the nature and character of the American people, Professor Cousins advances a most interesting observation.

"I have found a greater demand on myself, as a poet, in as many months in America as I did in twice as many years before elsewhere."

Dr. Cousins does not deny that the great part of activity in America is actuated by material considerations. But he refuses to accept what he regards as a temporary drive as being a basic characteristic of our people. He declines to term our activity among the materials of life an *ism*—materialism. There is no deliberate philosophy about it, he thinks: nothing but a natural reaction to circumstances that will pass.

Even as such, we would expect the manifestation of material activity primarily in our commercial system. "Yet," states Professor Cousins, "the demand on me for poetry has come not only from those whom we should expect to be interested in it, such as students and teachers, but from business people and women liberated from former domestic pre-occupations." These seem to be seeking some higher satisfaction than that which the ordinary activities of life can give them, and they are finding it in poetry.

Formerly, people found such satisfaction in religion. But as a result of the general intellectual upheaval that the modern era has been and still is experiencing, the organized religions has come into considerable disfavor as truth-revealers. It is natural for people, in such circumstances, to turn to poetry, though they themselves do not know the reason why. Poetry at its highest is the poet's intuitive reaction to the reality of the universe. It interprets life both emotionally and intellectually and with the accompaniment of beauty, and contains the stuff of true religion and philosophy. Its dogma assumes no authority save that of the reader's own response.

"Only in India have I found a greater demand for poetical expression and appreciation than in America. But while in India the expression of the aspirational nature in poetry and music is the most prominent and constant feature of the cultural life of the people, in America such expression is undoubtedly rivalled by many diverting interests and circumstances."

All through the Orient, Professor Cousins explained, life moves to rhythmical sound. Clerks in Japan add up their figures in a chant. Chinese coolies at the sea-ports chorus themselves up and down the steamers' gangways. The labors of the day and the recreations of the cool night in India are accompanied by song. But in modern America the creative lilt is lost in the ugly and blatant noises of machinery. All honor, therefore, he says, to those who in America lift up their voices in poetry with the prophetic optimism of a meadow-lark on the edge of a roaring ocean.

And especially would Professor Cousins give honour to the school and college students of America, who seek to answer the impulse to creative expression in poetry, despite the distractions inherent in their present environment. Most of his student-poets in his now concluding year as guest-lecturer in the college of the City of New York have to travel long distances mainly by subway to and from college. They have full schedules of study. They have a minimum of time for finding the mental and

emotional repose and poise in which poetry wells forth. When they do express themselves in verse, the expression frequently tends towards mental clarity within a defined area, and towards dramatic energy. These characteristics are excellent in their own way. But the finest poetical expression is not merely a transcript of a particular idea of feeling, but an interpretation in rhythmical and figurative speech of the poet's poised and undistracted response to life. Transcript poetry is usually hard-edged. The poetry of repose and balance takes its place in human memory because it allows something of the constants of human nature to express themselves through the less closely woven textures of thought and feeling. The best poetry is mellow. Mellowness is not too common in modern American poetry.

But it will come, Professor Cousins affirms. Our educators will recognise, some time in the future, and the sooner the better, that creative expression is at least as important as scientific observation, and they will provide the necessary means for its fulfilment. Students of science have their laboratories and necessary equipment. Why should not the student-poets have their times and places of conducive quietness and poetical suggestiveness? asks Professor Cousins. They cannot be completely isolated from the banalities of common activity. Contact with what is called life is inevitable, perhaps necessary. But withdrawal from it is equally necessary in order to reach the best poetical expression of the poet's emotional reaction to, and contemplation of, life in its largest sense.

When an opportunity for poetical expression does present itself, we find certain students following the experimental ways of Gerard Manly Hopkins and T. S. Eliot. But the tendency is for a substantial majority of the younger student-poets to revert to the more usual verse-forms. This is Professor Cousins' experience of the student-poets in his own classes. The reading public has recognised it in Nathalia Crane who expressed profound wisdom in verse at the age of nine, and in George Dillon whose first volume, published shortly after his graduation year,

won him an immediate place as an authentic poet in the large tradition.

We can understand this return to specific form in poetry if we realize the fact that design is a fundamental necessity in any real entity. Deviations are not, of course, objectionable as such. But, all else being equal, design gives a greater element of endurance.

Verbal design, Professor Cousins continued, is one of the inevitable norms of the verbal art of poetry, in addition to the invisible and inaudible designs of thought and emotion. We may have abnormalities and subnormalities in acceptable poems. But a complete renunciation of form is impossible. Free-verse in an absolute sense is a meaningless term. The best so-called free-verse has just as much verbal design, expressing thought-design and feeling-design, as strictly shaped verse. One sees this in Carl Sandburg's "Monotone" and "At a Window." In these poems arabesques of idea and feeling are rounded into architectural entities. Emotional sincerity cannot escape the necessity of figure, rhythm and pattern. These both intensify and control expression.

The selection of a verse-form is, of course, a matter for the intuitive form-sense of the student-poet. For practice, Professor Cousins has occasionally asked his City College students to write a sonnet. But the creative expression must, he holds, be left free. The teacher may help the student-poet to clarify mentally opaque spots in his poem, where the poet's intention may not have been carried into full expression. He may help to clear obstructions from the flow of the stream, and to readjust the placing of the pebbles of words so that they may resonate more truly to the unheard melodies of the inner song. But any more drastic interference would turn the teacher himself into an obstruction.

Though himself a poet, Professor Cousins is not exclusive in his aesthetical allegiance. He is a strong advocate of the inclusion of all the arts as integral subjects at all stages of education.

He believes that ninety per cent. of the world's troubles both in individuals and nations are due to frustrated impulse to creative expression. As curative agencies he recommends art-crafts, and wisely selected music. But while these arts embody distinctive qualities (form in sculpture, appearance in painting, emotion in music) the art of poetry synthesizes these qualities and adds the capacity of expressing and conveying thought. Of course the the selection of a form of expression by the student must be unforced. And it must, in order to reach its highest artistic value and the artist's highest happiness, be the expression of his full nature and environment, not an overworked repetition of a single phase.

This led us to the matter of the poetry of adolescence and sex. Professor Cousins rejects the psychological formula that art is only the expression of sexual impulse. He recognizes, not merely a sex-complex in art, but a creation-complex in all life. The arts are its finest expression. Given full scope in education, they will normalize the neurotic and erotic phases of the creative impulse. The Victorian "impure hush" on sex has been succeeded by an equally impure "barbaric yawp." Neither represents the true ratio of sex in life and art. A movement towards balance is, Professor Cousins believes, now showing itself. The poetry of the younger generation increasingly expresses the higher nature of humanity. The bulk of a sixty-page book of poems by his C. C. N. Y. students during the year now ending, which he hopes will find publication, is significant in its dignified treatment of other interests than sex. He believes that youth is realizing the hollow sham involved in a spurious liberation that only leads to new slaveries, and is searching for an intelligent discipline that will give the balance and control out of which rise true freedom and happiness. The arts, said Professor Cousins as a last word, are the best agents in this direction, since their very nature is disciplined release into satisfying expression. Hence the need for them in education.

Professor Cousins leaves for Europe on July first. He will

spend a month on Capri Island straightening out his accumulation of materials for books on *The Science and Art of Poetry*, *The Philosophy of Synthesis*, and *The Culture of India*, and for writing poetry. He will spend some time in Geneva, and after a possible visit to his native land, Ireland, he will settle down to a "sabbatical year" of writing either in Europe or India. He may perhaps accept invitations to return to America in the fall of 1933. If so, he will probably return to give lecture and study courses in poetry. He may also make a detailed study of modern American poetry for an interpretative exposition which he feels it has not yet received. If so, the work and personalities of student-poets will receive his special sympathetic attention.

KEVALRAM DAYARAM

THE BHAGAVADGITA OR THE SONG DIVINE

The Bhagavadgita or the Song Divine contains the quintessence of Knowledge or Wisdom as found in the Vedas. It summarises the Wisdom of the East, as found in the Sacred Books; all being placed within a limited scope. It is a spiritual reference book, containing as it does, rules for the daily conduct of life. Throughout its pages one recognises the great Law of Self-abnegation together with its underlying principles of *Ahimsa*, that is the Law of Love, which constrains us, making us to forbear from doing anything that may affect our neighbour, be it man, bird, beast, or for the matter of that, any other being or substance.

Under the guise of physical warfare, it describes the great battle that is perpetually being waged in the hearts of all mankind, with evil ranged on one side and goodness on the other. The chief actors are superhuman in origin, with little or no reference to historical data. The characters therein described may be found to be historical, but the author merely uses them to drive home his great religious theme. The author has, by no means, established the necessity of physical warfare; on the contrary he has proved the futility of such things for he has made the heroes even when victorious, shed tears of sorrow and anguish over the victims, and has left them in the end with a legacy of misery.

The most important teachings, however, is the delineation of the characteristics of the perfect man; there is nothing to correspond to physical prowess in warfare; the whole design is inconsistent with the rules of conduct governing warring sides. Krishna, the outstanding personality in the Gita, is one who is perfect in his knowledge and supreme in his deeds. He is adored as the perfect incarnation of the Divine. All life is a quest for Reality and all men are potentially incarnations of the Divine; he is the perfect incarnation who comes nearest to the

Deity in thought, word and deed. Man is not at peace with himself till he becomes perfect like unto God. As recorded in the Christian Scriptures, Jesus Christ exhorts the multitude to be so when He says: "Be ye, therefore, perfect, even as your Father, which is in Heaven, is perfect." The object of the Gita is to show the way to that state of perfection, by the attainment of self-realisation. We are a spark of the Divine and God is within us. After we tear away all that is earthy and unworthy in us, we disclose or lay bare within the Atman or Godhead. Salvation is not a goal to be sought after as a thing without us, it is rather a perfection to be cultured within us.

There are three ways by which we can approach the Divine: by good actions, by loving devotion and by perfect realisations or wisdom known as *karma, bhakti, jnan*. Round these three the whole fabric of the Gita is woven, the attainment of the God-head through these path-ways is emphasised even at the cost of repetition; at times the repetition is pleasant to scan.

The first pathway in life is known as *karma* or action, without any hope of reward. An embodied being is bound to labour. Every action is for an earthly need, and be it ever so trivial it is not without taint. How then can action be untainted, that is free from earthly or sinful motive? The Gita answers this decisively: "By renouncing the fruits of action, dedicating all our activities to God, declining steadfastly to receive for ourselves the remotest reward, surrendering all these things, because both body and soul have already been surrendered."

Linked with such desireless action is devotion or *bhakti*. It is not blind faith, nor is it a soft-hearted feeling of effusiveness. Such devotion is not connected with the externals of this world. A person may repeat, if he so prefers, the beads of his rosary, he may make repeated offerings or sacrifices, but these things in themselves do not further the real aim of devotion. He possesses the pure flame of devotion who in himself is a fount of mercy, who regards not self and who treats alike

happiness and misery, either here or hereafter, who is neither attached to his surroundings by love nor removed from them by hate ; who is not afraid nor engenders dread in others, who is free from exultation and has not sorrow nor fear ; who treats friend and foe alike; who is not elated with praise nor is downcast with contempt ; who having disciplined his reason, performs actions for the sake of doing them and all the while renounces the results thereof, whether good or evil ; who has no attachment to bind him, having all things yet possessing nothing.

All beings have to perform some work whether they wish it or not, such actions may be mental or physical, for both are implied in the word, action. How then can one be free from the bondage of action, even though he be acting all the while? The Gita gives the right answer : "Do your work but renounce the fruit of it; have no desire for reward in any form; in other words, do your allotted task but be detached from it ; or with the results it brings." He who gives up action, fails, he who gives up only the reward, succeeds. This is the true spirit of renunciation. It does not mean indifference as to the result. One must follow the means thereto, yet while engrossed in the proper fulfilment of the work before, one must renounce the fruits thereof. This renunciation is the acid test of faith; one ceases to hanker after things, yet all the while one who renounces reaps a hundred-fold and a thousand-fold. Like the Perfect One, he does not seek a whit yet gives and gives abundantly. He who fails to renounce, broods over results and is nervous or impatient in the performance of his duties; this gives vent to dissatisfaction and anger. He leaps from one action to another unsatisfied, without adhering to any. He contemplates only results and soon becomes distracted, yielding not to scruples ; in desperation he resorts to fair or foul means to attain the desired end. Such is the bitter experience of those filled with desire; they pluck at Dead Sea fruit. The Gita shows that renunciation is the one thing that

avoids all these evils; and that desirelessness is the straight path to perfect peace.

Right knowledge or *jnan* is necessary as well. Our desirelessness does not come by merely talking about it. One may recite a hundred or a thousand verses from the Vedas, yet he may be steeped in self-indulgence. In order that knowledge may not run riot devotion must accompany it. Knowledge without devotion is like a gun without powder and shot. The Gita well says: "Have devotion within you and knowledge will follow." Devotion with knowledge enables us to wrestle with the greatest things in life. Hence the knowledge of the true devotee is as great as that of the sage. A learned man may pass for a great teacher in the world, but not according to the true assessment laid down by the Gita. All knowledge is progressive. Knowledge of the One leads to admiration of the One. To admire is to imitate; and to know fully is to be; hence to comprehend fully the One is to be the One. In this manner the Gita leads to the towering height above, till we become one with the Infinite and the Eternal. Herein lies True Salvation or Deliverance from the yoke of bondage.

The common belief is that religion is set apart from the material things around us. There are worldly-wise people who say that there is no place for religion in our daily pursuits, in our business dealings and in the enjoyment of our recreations or pleasures. The Gita dispels this notion. It shows that religion must not only rule over our worldly pursuits in life but must enter into the very warp and woof of our existence, otherwise of what value is religion? What cannot be followed in our day-by-day practices cannot be of any real worth and should not be honoured by the sacred name of religion. Lying, deceite and the thousand and one other evil practices found so common among men in everyday life, which are honoured in us as indicating our cleverness or adroitness are unequivocally condemned. Rivalry, competition and hate, that end in slander, theft and murder cannot but lead to destruction. Man must

live a simple life ; and free from all such taints it is this simplicity of life that will bring him peace.

The outcome of the teaching of the Gita is to follow Truth and *Ahimsa,* or Love and forbearance unto all. Where there is no desire for fruit there is no temptation for untruth. Untruth leads to violence or *Himsa,* which may be traced back in its turn to desire to attain a cherished end. The Law of *Ahimsa* or Love comes down through the ages and is common to all religions. The Gita includes in that Law desirelessness, which in turn makes us refrain or forbear to do anything that may bring harm or evil to another. Why should sacrifices in the slaying of animals be made to appease the Deity ? In the Gita the king of sacrifices is the continuous concentration on God. Sacrifice also consists of loving labour or service. The Gita does not tolerate the complete cessation of all activity. It enjoins labour on our part. Work, however, ceases to be service if it brings with it the feeling that it is drudgery that must be undergone. It is service for which the doer is pleased because there is need of it by him who receives the good work done, hence the greater the need the greater the service. In this sense the Deity provides for us all, expecting nothing by way of recompense from us. Blessings are provided for the evil as well as the good ; and the lower the receiver of our good deeds in the scale of humanity, the greater the demand that is made upon us. Perfect renunciation is then impossible without the highest observance of Love or *Ahimsa* which finds expression in loving service.

It is impossible to realise Truth while we are confined to this mortal frame. Through the instrumentality of an ephemeral body we cannot come face to face with Truth which is eternal. We have then to fall back upon faith and faith finds expression in loving service. *Ahimsa* or Love helps us to discover Truth in the end. Truth which is the object of our quest is not without but within ; hence the more we take to violence or *Ahimsa* the more we recede from Truth. While fighting the

enemy without we lose what is within. We hate and punish people because they harass us ; yet in punishing them, we are punishing ourselves in another form, for after all we are they in a different form. This hatred against them increases their anger against us ; so the vicious circle continues. It is better, then, to endure than to punish, because forbearance brings our enemy to his senses and the enemy is our blood brother. Is it sufficient then to continue simply in bearing the infliction ? That would imply cowardice. Our enemy being our kith and kin, must be made to realise kinship. We must devise ways and means to win him over to our side, so that he may cease from doing evil. This is the path of *Ahimsa* or Love. It may entail continuous suffering and endless patience, but in the end our enemy turns from his evil way altogether and is won over to our side. By so doing we understand what is everlasting and what is not. Our pride melts away, our worldly dislikes and hates diminish and the evil within us shrinks from day to day. Our peace of mind increases in spite of our suffering ; in this way we realise the supreme position of Love and Truth.

The principle of *Ahimsa* or Love is hurt by every evil influence, by thinking or wishing ill of others, indeed, by any untoward thought, word or deed. It is violated also by our clasping, or being attached to, the things we think we need in this world. Eating is a need of this world, but eating involves the destruction of the life of many things. Millions of organisms we destroy as we drink or as we breathe. Should we then avoid these needs of our life and cease to live? So long as the spirit is attached to the flesh, every destruction of the body must weave another for itself. The body will only cease when all attachment towards it is yielded. This freedom from all attachment is the realisation of Truth. Such realisation, however, does not come in a day. The body does not belong to us ; it is a trust handed over to our charge. If we know to guide ourselves aright while in the flesh, we shall in the end be made free from all cares of the flesh. *Ahimsa* or Love and Truth are

ever combined so that they cannot be separated. They are like the two sides of a coin, one without the other fails to make the coin such; so is it with *Ahimsa* or Love, *Ahimsa* is the means, Truth is the end. If we take care of the means we cannot but reach the end. In this way is attained Salvation or Deliverance.

The Gita is not merely a book of aphorisms. It is a great religious exposition, enunciating the deepest principles which should guide human conduct and character. The deeper it is dived into, the richer the meanings become. The Gita is not an inelastic collection of Do's and Dont's as is the Mosaic Code; it is a set of living principles to guide human action at all times. What is lawful for one may be unlawful for another; what is permissible at one time or place may not be permissible at another time or place, but underlying all is the guiding principle of Love and Truth. The Gita does not merely sing the praises of knowledge and is not a mere exhortation to the intellect. It is essentially addressed to the soul and being so it lifts one out of one's self.

The Gita is not for those who are ignorant and without faith. It is addressed to those who desire to know and whose knowledge can transcend the heights above, where there is freedom from all bondage. In it Krishna well says: "Those who being free from malice and ignorance, with faith absorb this teaching, shall through it attain freedom both here and hereafter."

H. W. B. MORENO

HARBOR IN MOONLIGHT

A moonlit harbor trembles as the bride
Of some dream-city of forgotten days.
The moon throws down a silver scarf and plays
With rustling ruffles on the swirling tide ;
And crinkled sapphire ribbons send sky-dyed
Spray into mist-blown mid-night air. Blue-grays
Of heaven swarm with racing stars' relays.
Skylines flash jewel lights on every side.
Such harbors give a welcome to all ships...
With busy tugs that push and puff along
The sides of liners fresh from ocean trips.
Huge barges shoulder burdens with a song ;
The ferry-boats ply in and out the slips
Where shuttled crowds pour in a restless throng.

LOUISE A. NELSON

KRISHNADEVARAYA

As Poet and Patron of Letters.

Far-famed as a monarch of ancient Andhra country under whose aegis the Hampi-Vizianagar Empire reached astounding summits of repute and renown,—Krishnadevaraya appears on the firmament of early sixteenth century South Indian history with meteoric splendour, and still lives enshrined in the memories of men. What with his vast territorial conquests extending over a sea-coast of nearly thousand miles, what with the Cromwellian glory and grandeur with which he repulsed the rising tide of Muhammadan power and re-instated Hindu supremacy, what with his beneficent administrative reforms, his literary pursuits and his love of letters, his benefactions to temples irrespective of sect distinctions, and his abiding interst in aesthetics,—the twenty years' span of Krishnadevaraya's reign forms a period of inspired influence and sustained splendour.

A conqueror and ruler of tremendous calibre, Krishnadevaraya is remembered not as such, but primarily as a poet and patron of letters, as one whose reign saw the golden age in Telugu Literature. What Augustus was to Latin Literature, Bhoja Vikrama to Sanskrit, and Elizabeth to English, that Raya proved to be to Telugu Literature which in his time rose to its high-water mark. Endowed with a versatile genius and a fertile intellect, and well-versed in three rich languages—Sanskrit, Telugu and Kanarese and gifted with fine poetic talents Raya was eminently fitted to be the presiding genius of the literary stalwarts of the day. Around him thronged Pandits and poets from far and near, who vied with each other in exhibiting their God-gifted talents. A conflagration like that of intellectual fires sent forth literary sparks and fumes that are the priceless possession of our literature. Not only that, the conglomeration, peculiarly enough, gave birth to a new type

of poetry that marked the birth of a new period in the growth and advancement of Telugu Literature.

Till the advent of Raya early in the sixteenth century, literature was in its swaddling clothes, marked by a complete lack of originality. It was a period primarily of translations and adaptations from Sanskrit, when some of the outstanding poets of five centuries, from the eleventh to the sixteenth, made capital out of the existing Sanskrit stuff, and produced nothing beyond that. The *Mahabharata*, the immortal epic of Kuru-Pandava dynasties, translated by Nannaya, Tikkana and Yerrapragada; the *Ramayana*, that thrilling story dealing with the suffering and sacrifice of Sree Ramachandra, translated and adapted variously by Ranganatha, Hulakki Bhaskara, and others; the *Bhagavata*, that great work of Vaishnavite rhapsody about the loves and laughters of Sree Krishna, translated by Potana; and the several puranas—*Padma*, *Varaha*, *Vasistha*, *Nrisimha*, *Basava*, translated by various authors,—all belong to the period prior to Raya.

Krishnadevaraya's circle of Poet friends, his literary *goshtis* and his personal *debut* on the literary stage widened the intellectual horizon of the age, laid a path to 'fresh fields and pastures new.' The craze for translation and the blind and implicit faith in the forms and fashions of the past received a death-knell. The epic with its gorgeous narrative and its background overcrowded with innumerable heroes and heroines no longer held the pedestal of the ideal. It could not but yield place to the essentially original *Kavya* with its splendid descriptive form, which, intertwined with a variety of robust imagery, romantic setting and character-portraiture ushered in the period of the Prabandhas.

It augured well when Raya the protecting deity and presiding genius was also the patron-saint of this movement for original expression in Telugu Literature. He led off the movement, as it were, with his *Amuktamalyada*, *Madalasacharitra* and *Satyabhama Priranam*, of which only the first work is extant.

This work—*Amuktamalyada* also known as *Vishnuchittiya*—which drew its life-breath from the fountain source of Vaishnavite Bhakti, deals with the spiritual experience of a devotee whose only adopted daughter *Amuktamalyada* loves none but the Lord and who ultimately had to be consecrated to His service. Around this simple yet stately theme of devotion Raya wove a Kavya which won him an esteemed place in the literary pantheon of Andhra. But the style is so extra-stately and the diction so extra-high that we are led to fancy if Raya wrote it with the consciousness of his being a king! None the less, a whiff of fresh inspiration, a glow of new radiance, a wave of original ideas, a luxuriousness of language, and ornateness of phrase, characterise this outstanding work of this poet-prince. It will not be out of place, but on the other hand interesting to know about the romantic setting in which Raya composed this Kavya. He was just sojourning at Vijayavada with his wives, Tirumaladevi and Chinnadevi, after a most strenuous campaign of war in the Northern Circars. There he took a fancy to visit the shrine at Srikakulam, a place of pilgrimage, just a few miles off. It was in that holy place that the idea of *Amuktamalyada* dawned upon the mind of this hero of a hundred battles, and inspired him to finish the work almost while still there.

This inevitably leads us to consider a little about the vexed controversy regarding Raya's linguisting identity. Some regard him as a Kanarese King, while many more esteem him as an Andhra monarch. For my part I regard him as a thorough Telugu prince, who spoke and wrote Telugu. To his grandfather, Saluva Narasimha Raja—the Telugu *Jaimini Bharata* was dedicated; to his father, Narasinga Raja, the Telugu *Varaha Purana* was dedicated; to Raya were dedicated *Manucharitra* and *Parijatapaharana*, while he himself composed *Amuktamalyada* and other works; and finally to his son-in-law Tirumalaraya was dedicated *Vasucharitra*. These facts go to prove very authentically, that not only Raya, but his whole family took a living interest in Telugu and encouraged authors by accepting

dedication of their works, and probably by giving them timely pecuniary aid.

Krishnadevaraya was essentially aesthetic in his tastes and temperament, and highly poetic in intellect and insight. It was this aesthetic impulse that led him to offer fabulous benefactions for the construction of new towns, temples, canals and other works of art An anecdote recorded in Briggs' Ferishta (III, 48-51) reveals to us this great king's interest not only in works of art, but also in words that are beautiful, and how even amidst trying and troublesome circumstances his heart was responsive to aesthetic echoes. Engaged in a war with Adil Shah, Raya led his armies to the banks of the Krishna river and was biding his time. "Some days after his arrival," says the account, "as he was reposing in his tent, he heard one of his courtiers without the tents reciting this verse—

"Rise and fill the golden goblet
With the wine of mirth
Ere the Quaffer
Shall be laid in dust."

The king, as if inspired by the verse, called his favourites about him, and spreading the carpet of joy, gave himself away to the pleasures of music and wine. When the banquet had lasted longer than was reasonable and the effects of the liquor began to exercise their influences, a fancy seized the king to pass the river and attack the king. The officers in vain represented the imprudence and danger of this precipitation, but the king without reply plunged his own elephant into the stream, and was instantly followed by some of his officers and soldiers, on about two hundred and fifty elephants."

Such an impulsive and aesthetic king could not find himself in his element unless surrounded by people attuned to his temperament. Poets and Pandits from far and near flocked to his court for help as well as for inspiration. The following verse in '*Parijatapaharana*—"*Prati varsha vasantotsava*

kuturagata sukavi nikara gumbhita vakya smriti romancha visankita chaturanthafpura vadhu prasadana rasika ! "—narrates how each year at spring-time the king celebrated a literary festival in which numerous literary men partook.

But most prominent among such 'sons of muse' who lighted their torches of song at Raya's court must be mentioned the '*Ashtadiggajas*'—the 'eight literary elephants,' who not only distinguished themselves but also reflected glory on the court and the king. Allasani Peddana, the author of *Manucharitra*, Nandi Timmana, the author of *Parijatapaharana*, Ayyalaraju Ramabhadra, the author of *Sakala Katha Sara Sangraha*; Dhurjati Kavi, the author of *Kalahasthi Mahatmya*; Mallana Kavi, the author of *Raja Sekhara Charitram* ; Pingali Surana, the author of *Kalapurnodaya* ; Ramaraja Bhushana, the author of *Vasucharitra*; and lastly the most witty and popular poet—Tenali Ramalinga, author of *Panduranga Mahatmya*;—were the eight famous poets of Raya's Court, reminiscent of the "eight immortals of the wine cup "—of the Chinese poetic world of the eighth century. To the first and the best by common consent of these poets—Peddana—Raya did a very singular honour, on the occasion of accepting the dedication of *Manucharitra*, by acting for a little while as one of the poet's palanquin-bearers. Yet on another occasion when this same poet burst into splendid impromptu song, the king overpowered with ecstatic feelings, came down from the throne, knelt, and himself fitted on the poet's foot a golden bracelet! It was the sincerest and highest tribute that royalty ever paid to literature in the whole course of Telugu Literature. Instances like these are very rare in other literatures and other lands, but a parallel may be found in the Chinese literary history of the eighth century A.D., when a certain emperor was so delighted with the verses of one of his poets—Sung chih-wen—that he took off his imperial robe and placed it on the poet's shoulder!

Thus we see that in Raya's regime poets flourished under his shady wings and literature rose to startling heights. The

poets who were no doubt drawn from the ordinary ranks of life moved on terms of equality and liberty with the king, because their intimacy was of the intellect: and the republic of letters knows no distinctions of class or creed! Peculiarly attached to them, Raya revelled along with his poet-friends in all sorts of pranks and poetic fancies, discussed with them things and themes, and was the direct and indirect inspiration of their poetic utterances. A king to his subjects, a patron of Letters, Krishnadeva Raya was a comrade of the poets who flowered at his court which was a spicy grove of poesy, and filliped them to produce works vibrant with inspiration and imagination, that made a landmark in Telugu Literature.

V. N. BHUSHAN

INDIAN IDEAL OF MARRIAGE

It is well known as a fact of history that the Aryans of India were at first forest-dwellers. Then as the dense screen of the forest was lifted off the face of their history, India's plains were converted from sylvan shelters of patriarchal communities into monarchical territories and agriculture became the mainstay of her growing settlement. On the other hand, the close neighbourhood of peoples different in race giving rise to perpetual cultural conflict and on the other the agricultural civilisation claiming co-operation and regulation of stable life—these are the two forces that moulded Hindu society and still steers its way. A society such as this can never exist and do its duties unless peace is maintained amongst its members by a perfect system of mutual adjustment of rights.

At the dawn of Indian History about which we have glimpses in the Ramayana, three different parties are to be distinguished, Aryans, Barbarians and the Rakshasas. When these were at daggers drawn their disturbed state of society constantly precluded the adoption and retention of any common social polity. Then as Kshatriyas extended their sway and popular settlements grew up, the need of peace came to be felt and its merits were exalted and therefore the establishment of relations between these three formed the main theme of the Ramayana.

According to our Law-givers any one making gifts to, or taking gifts from a Brahmin who remains as a householder without marrying, goes to hell. No hospitality should be accepted from an unmarried householder. Shastras compare the household to a great tree; for just as the roots of the latter

support its branches, twigs and foliage so does the life of household maintain the different institutions of society. The Law-giver lays it down that the king should honour him who upholds and helps the estate of the householder. But the mere fact of setting up a household does not constitute that estate according to our Shastras.

The household is made not by the house but by the due performance of the duties incumbent upon the householder; not even by wife and children if the householder be wanting in his own Karma which means only the performance of his specific duties, *i.e.*, the discharge of his obligations to society. To an adequate understanding of the principles that underlie the Hindu system of marriage it is necessary to appreciate duly the principles underlying the Hindu social structure. The Hindu ideal of marriage has no regard or individual taste or inclination, it is rather afraid of them.

Ordinarily speaking, in Europe there is no bar to international marriages; but when the one objective of war overshadowed all other considerations marriage with the subject of an enemy country became a matter of impossibility, so much so, that European society felt no scruple in severing even longstanding marriage ties of this description. These war conditions afford a good parallel to the permanent conditions which govern Hindu society where the encroachment of foreign culture has always remained a constant source of danger which needed guarding against. This vital objective of the Brahmin leaders who practically represented the whole people therefore runs as a steady undercurrent through the framework of our society. The problem of keeping its civilisation pure has been acknowledged as all-important and in its solution thus soughtin India her society has had to claim of its members the severe and permanent curbing of their individual liberty of choice and action. Indian society did not reach this stage all at once. It gradually evolved through successive adaptations to changing circumstances. Hence many relics of earlier stages survived into the later ones.

Therefore Manu had to recognize in his treatises other different forms of marriage such as—

1. Gandharvam (by mutual choice)
2. Rakshsam (by conquest)
3. Asuram (by purchase)
4. Paisacham (by taking advantage of helplessness)

In none of these is the social will manifest, but only the desire of the individual; for force, whether of arms or money or circumstances is arrogant and passion refuses to submit to external considerations.

Gandharva founded on mutual attraction was also not favoured by Manu. It long persisted in Indian society. It only shows, however conservatively stable a society may be the principle of stability cannot be equally strong amongst all its classes. In the Kshatriya character cultivation of self-suppression was least likely to attain its fullest development. It is not possible to keep confined a complex net of the warrior spirit which ever seeks fresh fields and scope for expansion. It is for this reason that the Shastras prohibited the crossing of the sea. Any adventurous activity whatsoever that may break loose our mind from its mooring and disturb the fixed habit of our thought and faith and behaviour is bound to undermine the very foundation of our society.

Not only sea voyages, but residence in foreign countries with antagonistic social ideals was prohibited and even penalized. In the West we find nowadays all kinds of forcible attempts being made to prevent the intrusion of Bolshevik ideas. This is comparable with our prohibition of foreign travel. No penalty is looked upon as too severe if only keep in check the propaganda which, it is feared, may destroy elements essential for the stability of the orthodox social system of the West. The liberty of the people to form their own opinion in regulating their own conduct is here no longer respected. The Terrorist organisation called Fascicism which seemed to

be daily gaining ground in Europe is the precise counterpart of our rigorous social injunctions. There was a day in India when for the Sudra to aspire to the path of the Brahmin entailed death penalty. The same psychological phenomenon is seen in the West in other forms.

It is no doubt conducive to a certain sort of strength if all the members of the society are in the main moulded in accordance with some uniform standard. That may be an obstruction to the fullest growth of its individuals, but it certainly does not help to keep the society as a whole in a state of stable equilibrium. And if any society on cessation of its growth should come to pride itself on being not like a growing tree but like a temple of which its securely established immovableness is its glory, it will inevitably feel the moving of a single one of its bricks to be a loss. Nevertheless to keep all the members of a society universally bound in such unalterable fixity is a matter of impossibility, *i.e.*, against the nature of man and destructive of the principle of life itself ; some if not all, cannot but keep infringing the rules and violating the prohibitions which the society has imposed.

Anyhow as long as Kshatriyas were so in reality it was found not possible to keep them strictly bound down to the habitual performance of the prescribed rules of daily observance. That is the reason why in the story of ancient India the Kshatriyas were at the bottom of all social revolutions. Buddha was a Kshatriya; so also Madhua. The clan to which Sri Krishna himself belonged did not scrupulously observe the precepts and prohibitions which were held by the Law-givers in high estimation. The Mahabharata, if read through, will put us in mind at every turn that however resolute may have been the endeavours to protect society behind a permanent embankment, there was not a kingly clan of note which did not break through the walls. It was only in comparatively recent times when the Kshatriyas had lost the strength and the Brahmins had gained almost unquestioned supremacy that it became possible to make the social bonds so very inactive.

The Law-giver Manu mentions Gandharvam as marriage by mutual choice and disapproves of the same by speaking of it 'as born of desire'; the way to marriage which is shown by the torch-light of passion has not for its goal the welfare of society but the satisfaction of desire. Even in Europe where the obligations of the individuals to the society is much lighter, it is well known how the mingling of sexes under the impulse of passion often gives rise to anti-social difficulties; but then society being mobile the effects are not so deep as with us. In our Shastras therefore the Brahma form of marriage is considered to be the best. According to this the bride should be given to a man who has not solicited her. If the institution of marriage has to be regulated from the social standpoint strictly, room cannot be found for the personal wishes of the people concerned. So the system which obtained in the Royal Houses of Europe is the system which prevails throughout Hindu Society.

Another way for the better understanding by the European of the mentality underlying our marriage system would be by reference to the discussions on Eugenics which are a special feature of modern Europe. The science of Eugenics, like all other sciences, attaches little weight to personal sentiment. According to it selection by personal inclinations must be rigorously regulated for the sake of the progeny. If the principle involved be once admitted, marriage needs must be rescued from the control of the heart and brought under the province of the intellect. Otherwise unsolvable problems will keep on arising; for passions reck not of consequences nor brooks interferences by outside judges.

The Kshatriyas were not in the habit of strictly observing social rules relating to marriages; but from the poems of Kalidas it becomes clear that there was a struggle of protest in his mind against this laxity of their observance. The poet keenly felt the value of the Eugenic restrictions which were directed towards maintaining the racial ideals pure; and yet his heart could not fail to be moved by the beauty of the play of the

natural love of man and woman against the background of the exuberance of the Universal Life. In most of the works of Kalidasa is treated the conflict of these opposites. The coming of the line of Bharatas was a great event in the history of India. But though the prelude of unbridled desire which ushered in the founder of the line has been viewed by the poet in its aspect of beauty in the first part of the play, he has corrected it from the standpoint of the good towards the conclusion.

Sakuntala's natural beauty blossoms out amid the natural beauty of the forest hermitage. Everywhere in this retreat does Nature beckon; but society as yet has found no loophole through which to obtrude the warning of her uplifted finger. Sakuntala's secret union with king Dushiyanda which takes place amid these surroundings is not in harmony with the rest of her society. So the curse comes on her. She overlooks in her self-absorption the duty of hospitality; for when nature is busy securing any special purpose she throws all other purposes into the background. Society thereupon exacts its penalty and in the king's Audience Hall the inevitable thunderbolt of insult and rejection falls upon Sakuntala.

In the Seventh Act the picture which the poet draws of her hermitage in which is consummated the final union of the two now purified by discipline is everywhere full of the rigour of renunciation eclipsing the life-play of Nature. In the opening scene the king is informed that the Rishi is busy expounding the Dharma of the wifely estate. Sakuntala is here seen as the emblem of devotion, the mother. These two picture the relations of woman to man, the one carrying the bondage of desire, the other the detachment of Dharma.

Motherhood is not essentially different in man and the lower animals so far as concerned the physical nurture of the offspring.

Now-a-days in the West women feel degradation in becoming mothers. They feel it as an insult to have to subject to this

tyranny of Nature over their sex. But the means to avoid the insult is by making it suberve her ideal by bringing it under the control of her intellect and conscience.

In Kumara Sambhava the poet tells the same thing. There he has shown the divine aspect of the Eternal love of man and woman.

In all three of his works the poet Kalidas has looked upon marriage as a state of discipline not intended for gaining individual happiness but of which the method is the control of desire and the object, to bring about the birth of the Slayer of Evil, the Superman who will make possible the achievement of heaven on earth.

The agony of the poet, of which we have glimpses in each of these, springs from his consciousness of the degeneracy which was overtaking society through the flagrant disregard by the Kshatriya kings of the Aryan ideal of marriage.

The Hindu marriage is loveless. The conclusion is very false.....No system can be devised to ensure that its original object shall remain true throughout the period of wedded life of the couple; so law and public opinion have to keep vigilant watch from outside.

But when external compassion unites those whom only mutual love can unite truly it makes their relations inherently impure but civilised man submits even to this for the sake of children. The difficulty has not been solved so far.

In entering the marriage state we all had to plunge into the doubtful and leave it to Providence whether we shall sink or swim through. For the purposes of marriage spontaneous love is unreliable. Its proper cultivation should yield the best result and this cultivation must begin before marriage.

Therefore from earliest years the husband as an idea is held up before the girl in verse and story through ceremonial worship; when at length they get their husbands, he is to them not a person but a principle, like loyalty, patriotism, etc., which owe their

immense strength to the fact that the best part of them is our own creation and so part of our inner being.

There is also the glorification of the *sati* or ideal wife and so a real reverence for woman as the embodiment of housewifely virtues is not rare in our country. The idea was in both cases to replace the natural passions of sexual love by the cultivated emotion of wedded love. In coming to our judgment on the marriage system in India we should recognise that man and woman are not on a footing of equality. This inequality would have humiliated her but for the fact that for the wife the husband is an ideal.

According to India's ideal even the home must be given up in the quest of the Infinite. The household in fact is only to be set up as an important stage in this quest.

The marriage system all over the world from the early stages till now is a barrier in the way of such true union. That is why woman's *sakti* in all existing societies is so shamefully wasted and corrupted; that is why in every country marriage is still more or less a prison-house for the confinement of women.....with all its guards wearing the badge of the dominant male. That is why man by dint of his effort to bind women has made her the strongest of fetters for his own bondage; that is why woman is debarred from adding to the spiritual wealth of society by the perfection of her own nature. The civilisation of man has not up to date loyally recognised the reign of the spirit. Therefore the married state is still one of the most fruitful sources of the unhappiness and downfall of man, his disgrace and humiliation. But those who believe that society is a manifestation of the spirit will assuredly not rest in their endeavours till they have rescued human marriage relations from outrage by the brute forces of society, till they have given free play to the force of love in all the concerns of humanity.

T. K. GOPAL PANIKKAR

THE ESSENCE OF RABINDRNATH'S POETRY

Rabindranath Tagore to-day is a world figure. From one end of the world to the other, he has travelled as a pilgrim in search of Truth, carrying the message of India and everywhere he has conquered the hearts of the people, with his songs and lyrics. His books have been translated into the principal world languages and people of different lands and different nationalities find in his books, a new message of soul, a new symphony of love and a new gospel for Humanity. To the peoples of the West, he has been the messenger of the mysterious and the mystic East; but that is not all, in his radiant personality and in his works they find a new inspiration, a vibrating life, wherewith to seek the Bliss of Life, the Harmony of the inner Spirit, which the glorious West, inspite of its vaunted conquest of Nature, inspite of its myriad achievements in the domain of Science and Art, has not been able to attain, even after mad pursuits.

Rabindranath is the culmination of the Renaissance, which has sprung from the contact of the Orient with the Occident and which dawned with the advent of the maker of Modern India, Raja Ram Mohan Ray. Rabindranath, therefore, expresses the manifold life of this great awakening of India in bewitching forms of beauty and truth. In him the tree of vision has been a living growth, spreading out its branches and twigs each day of his life in ever fresh tints and colours and with awe and wonder we look upon his mighty genius, which eludes our grasp, because of its infinite varieties. But still in the midst of his variety and manysidedness, we notice two most striking characteristics, which may be called the most significant features of his poetry.

To divide a man's life into periods often leads to faulty conceptions, for our life is a continuous growth. Everything that we feel and see is never lost but on the contrary affects our

subconscious mind and appears and reappears in moments when we least expect it. Periods in life are therefore never distinct from one another; but very often exert reciprocal influences over the rest. Bearing in mind this progressive growth of human life, we may still find two significant and distinct periods in the poet's life. One beginning with the poet's initiation into poetry to the completion of his book "Naivedya" the other commencing with "Gitanjali" and up till to-day.

The first is the period of journey in which his supra-sensitive poetic soul discovered the harmony that exists between man and the outer world, not by means of scholastic reasoning, not by deep meditation but by means of an inner vision all his own or which may be better called as peculiarly Indian. From the earliest dawn of mankind on earth, India, through her great seers and sages, have tried to unravel the mystery of life and has learnt by her Sādhanā that the ultimate Truth and Beauty dawns upon the soul of a man, all on a sudden, by a sudden revelation, but it can never be approached by intellect and learning alone. India, therefore, always aspires for spiritual communion and mystic illumination, only keeping the heart of the seeker ready for this sudden flash, which, if ever it comes, in the life of a man, enables him to realise the highest truths, all at once and see into the life of things. India has ever been in quest of this intuitive vision, to realise this unity, in the midst ofdiversity and to comprehend life and world, in its totality. The poet has tried, by means of his imaginative insight, to discover this key of life in this first period of his career. Through diverse poetic and emotional experiences, this poet-prophet of India realised and assimilated the fundamental unity of life, the essential harmony that reigns behind the apparent chaos.

The second period is a period of dedication, in which the poet offers his soul as an offering to the God of Beauty, Truth and Love, and tries to express in inimitable tunes and words the joy of the Communion. A fervent spiritual ecstasy marks this period. The poet has been able to lift the veil which screens

the abiding Reality from our vision, the veil which brings about the darkness and sorrow of life and in a mood of loving participation in the great symphony of life; he pours forth his full heart in profuse strains of unpremeditated art. The poet drank deep into the fountain of Vaishnaba lyrics and Upanishadas, things of the highest realisation and truths, felt and realised by Sadhakas after long years of meditation and search, and then he clothed these eternal verities, in poems of unparalleled sweetness. This rain of melody came upon the modern world, weary with its fever and fret, like a gentle shower, embalmed with the unknown fragrance and the whole world came to listen to his wonderful music to find a way out of this joyless modern life, to seek out that flood of light, which may illumine the cloudy night of modern civilization. The intense spirituality, the inexpressible melody and force of the poetry of this period reveals to the world the message of the age-long culture of India and remains unsurpassed in the literature of the world, for its depth and poignancy.

In his Hymn to Intellectual Beauty, Shelley acknowledged his deep love for an unknown and awful power of loveliness, which would give to this world, things which are beyond all human expression, a love which grew in him in his very infancy and which, he believed, had power to free this world fromi ts dark slavery. Rabindranath, too, felt the presence of this unseen and invisible spirit of Harmony and the poems of this first period, are replete with many instances, which reveal the poet's growing love and intimacy for this unknown Glory of Love. He feels himself to be the lyre in the beautiful hands of this Beauty, giving out melodies which are not his own, but which comes out as it were from the very heart of that soul of Love in an abundance of rich music, which is of the very essence of Heaven. Day in and day out he weaves out beautiful forms to clothe his beautiful experiences with this spirit and we see how his intimacy with Nature ripens through an emotional unfolding of his pure poetic soul and how he slowly realises the unity,

that pervades the world, the harmony that remains unheard because of the turmoil of the world; not through conscious efforts, but through exquisite poetic feelings.

In one of his letters, the poet has said : " The joy that we feel in nature is due to our feeling of oneness with her. We pulsate, we vibrate with the trees and grass, with the currents of water and air. With the whirl of light and darkness, with the movements of the starry universe, with the myriad orders of living beings. ..... If the atoms and molecules of the world were not our kith and kin, if the infinite space and time had not been vibrating in our souls and joys, we could not have a feeling of joy in our relations with the outside world. We belong to the same genus as what we call the world of matter, is, for had it not been so, we would not have found our homes in the same universe, but there would have been two world systems."

This is nothing but the introspective intuition of the Upanishad seers, who realised the Infinite in the finite world, the One in the many, the Absolute in the world of change, and sang out in a joyful chorus :—

" We pay homage to the Lord that is in fire, in water the Lord that pervades the entire universe, the Lord that is within the herbs and the lordly trees." In his poem " The Awakening of the Fountain " the first glimpse of this Truth flashed upon him and he went on renewing this acquaintance, as he grew up and tried to grasp this invisible Force sometimes as his Lord, sometimes as his Lady-love, sometimes as his guide and Guru.

The perception of this Infinite Love that dissolves all perplexities is innate in the soil of India and it is for this reason that his own people has never acclaimed him with that note of wonder and awe, with which he has been hailed by the outside world. His individuality consists in the flawless and faultless expression, in which he has clothed the experiences of these moments of mystic Bliss and Joy and to understand him thoroughly and to comprehend his towering genius we

cannot but study the culture and Sādhanā that fostered his genius.

If we take the pains to do so, we shall come to see that the immortal melody, the ineffable utterance, is not a sudden growth, but the budding of a flower, the seed of which was sown thirty centuries ago in the forest-hermitage of India. He is our seer of the new age, who feels deeply the abiding Reality and Love that reigns in joy behind the shadow shows of this cruel and hard life. He sings as a prophet :—

"In this my seven-storied house, in this my home of endless lives, I am bound in thousand links with the earth and the water—I am linked knot by knot."

This love is something more than Wordsworthian. It is inspired by the philosophy of God-consciousness which India has reached through millions of God-seekers.

In the second period, this consciousness of the oneness, the feeling of the totality of things is deepened and widened by the advent of age and on experience of the sad music of Humanity. With his growing piety and love, he saw into the very source of Life-energy and, struck with awe and veneration, he brings his offerings of song, to the blessed feet of the Lord. He became wedded to this Super-Soul and dedicated his fullest energy as a homage to this Inner Ocean of joy. This, the poet did out of his spontaneous cry for Truth and Beauty, by listening to the voice of his own heart. Herein lies the excellence and monumental creation of Rabindranath.

Our Shastras always enjoin this dedication of our soul to the God-soul, this blending of the harmony that is in us, with the Harmony of the Over-soul. It is what has been called Saranapatti or self-surrender to the soul of the universe. The rapture of the devotee finds a new vehicle for the inspiration of the whole Humanity. The poet only reveals it a little more fully, a little more sweetly. The rhythm and cadence captivates our soul and leads us unawares to a region of goodness and Godliness. The intense sweetness sends forth new and

unknown torches of truth, in colours divine and splendours unearthly. The poetry of this period is a store house of nectar, which would nourish the men and women of the centuries to be.

In this poetic mood, in this spiritual ecstasy, the poet speaks up :—

"Let only the little be left of me, whereby I may name Thee my all. Let only that little be left of my will, whereby I may feel Thee on every side and come to Thee in everything and offer to Thee, my love every moment. Let only that little be left of me, whereby I may never hide Thee. Let only that little of my fetters be left, whereby I am bound with Thy will and Thy purpose is carried out in my life—and that is the fetter of Thy love—" *English Gitanjali*, 34.

How similar in tone and spirit with the injunctions of the Song Celestial :—

"Whatever you do, whatever you eat, whatever you sacrifice or offer, whatever penance you make, dedicate everything to me."

This philosophy of sacrifice has been made into the finest song in the hands of the artist and we are in raptures over the song, without thinking for a moment that it comes out of the highest truth envisaged by the Sages of old. Poems of this spiritual communion, so full of surprise enables us to realise "our voice as in a dream" perhaps for the first time, the voice we are seeking all through life.

It is needless to add instances, for this odour of the mystic world flows out from every line. I would only note one more poem and shall ask the gentle reader to read the rest in the light of the above criticism.

The 76th poem of the English Gitanjali runs thus :—

"Day after day, O lord of my life, shall I stand before thee face to face? With folded hands, O lord of all worlds, shall I stand before thee face to face?

Under the great sky in solitude and silence, with humble heart, shall I stand before thee face to face ? In this laborious world of thine, tumultuous with toil and with struggle, among hurrying crowds, shall I stand before thee face to face?

And when my work shall be done in this world, O King of Kings, alone and speechless, shall I stand before thee face to face?''

What a glorious lyric. I think it is difficult to find its peer from the literature of the world. This is no idle song of an idle day—it soars above the frivolity of the ordinary life and fills the empty heart with the ambrosia of the other world. In presence of this exquisite outpourings of the inner soul, we join with the poet and our lives take its voyage to our eternal home in one deep salutation to the Lord of Light and Life. Love of God is the abiding source of our culture and Rabindranath brings back to us, even in this age of scepticism, the sincere convictions of a highly sensitive soul. With him we try to look upon life through a new angle of vision and slowly and steadily we realise, little by little, how a life without God is no life at all and the call of our Sages of old to lead a Godly life was the truest call in our life. To quote the words of W. B. Yeats, another poet of great powers, who introduced Rabindranath to the western world : "We had not known that we loved God, hardly it may be that we believed in Him, yet looking backward upon our life, we discover in our exploration of the pathways of woods, in our delight in the lonely places of hills, in that mysterious claim we have made, unavailingly, in the women that we have loved, the emolian that created this insidious sweetness.'' As we go through the poems of Tagore, our hearts are purified of their dross and we become simple and straight, like a flute of reed for God to fill us with music. We are ennobled and uplifted from the sordid plane in which we move, we are saved from the perils of over much desire and thus become worthy of God's full acceptance.

This message of Unity and Love is in Rabindranath and it would not do to judge him as a mere poet, as an artist of rare

creative genius—he is rather the creative evolution of the spirit of India.

To sum up, Rabindranath is the incarnation of the soul of India. He stands pre-eminently as the Messiah of our culture, bringing to the fever-stricken world the message of Love. The essence of his art, which is alike the essence of Indian Life and culture is to see deep into the heart of things and feel in a moment of joy or spritual vision that this life is divine, that the world is divine, that whatever we hear, whatever we touch and taste, whatever we see and smell is from and of God. The rainbow-tints, the golden sunset, the mellow moonlight, the starry heavens all bestow the peace and benediction that is of God, they bring to us to tear up the meshes which entangle us and open our benumbed hearts for the inflow of the divine energy. Realising this Unity, this Oneness with all that is, and all that would be, we are to live the God's life on earth and fulfil His mission. If we try to grasp these underlying principles of his poetry, we shall be able to enter into the deeper meaning and significance of the poet's song :—" I have had my invitation to this world's festival, and thus my life has been blessed. My eyes have seen and my ears have heard. It was my part of the feast to play upon my instrument and I have done all I could. Now I ask, has the time come at last when I may go in and see thy face and offer thee my silent salutation ?"

Here is the gospel of life. Our life should be so tuned that we may find delight in all we see and feel, we are to carry on our work, to do our duty in the best way that we can, for a part best suited to our capacity has been allotted to each of us in His great festival and we are to do it with joy and in the urge of divinity, in one deep salutation to Him.

MATI LAL DAS

MANUEL DE FALLA[1]

The name of Manuel de Falla is not new to a good many of us who sally forth seeking adventure and new experiences in the world of music. His works are included in the repertoire of the leading orchestras of this country, whilst a fair percentage of the wireless music is made up of de Falla's Spanish music.

He was born in Cadiz in the year 1876, and had for parents a Catalonian on one side, and an Andalusian on the other; which is undoubtedly the secret or the cause of his Spanish philosophy in composition. He did not have the support of rich and influential parents to help him along the treacherous path of the aspiring composer; all he had was the enthusiasm of a youngster, a great love for music, and the will to win—a combination that no doubt placed him where he stands in the musical life of to-day. Up to the age of twenty-eight he wrote indifferent music for the stage, hoping at the time that this would bring him in some money but it did not. If young de Falla was a musician he was not a salesman also, which, as he was unknown at this time, was essential, and so for a time, the bulk of his zarzuelas remained unsold. In 1905 he

[1] I have proffered the above notes on Manuel de Falla and his musical aspirations, with the hope that it will make fresh desire in the hearts of musically inclined Indian friends, for further knowledge of modern methods of music culture. Nothing will aid them more in this direction than the Gramophone, for with its help they are at liberty to study closely the music of the West. The H. M. V. Gramophone Company, who have branches and dealers in many parts of India, have issued a number of records of de Falla's compositions, and I apprehend herewith the names and English General Catalogue numbers of a few records that I think would reward the earnest student of music who carefully studied them :—" Andaluza " (D 1571), a pianoforte solo by Madame van Barentsen; " Amour Sorcier," a ritual Fire-Dance by Full Orchestra (D 1453) ; " Danse du meunier," or the Dance of the Three-cornered Hat (E 434), pianoforte solo by Marcelle Meyer; " Seven Popular Spanish Songs " (DA 814), played by Rene Chemet on the violin; and " Jota " (DA 751) sung by that magnificent tenor, Tito Schipa.

won the prize in a national opera competition, with a work that was written absolutely to his own ideas, a victory which convinced him that if he desired success he must in future write to the dictates of his own soul, and not attempt to half-heartedly follow the rest of the crowd and write so-called popular music.

When this was decided, it was a long time before de Falla became aware of the true qualities of his own mind. It required a lot of hard work to get at the realities of the music within him. But he never once wavered, even in the darkest hours of his soulful struggle for self-expression. He went to Paris, where he lived in obscurity for a long time, teaching music to the sons and daughters of neighbouring tradespeople. All the time the struggle was going on within his breast, and at last he was beginning to see light. At this period a theatrical company in Paris approached him with an offer to pay him a handsome commission to write popular zarzuelas for them, but he refused, although he was wretchedly poor at the time.

De Falla was much influenced through his friendship with such musicians as Debussy and Ravel, who had themselves submitted to the high aims of realism and self-expression. De Falla had the highest admiration for a composition of Debussy's entitled "La Soiree dans Grenade," which was truly Spanish, although its composer had never been to Spain, and only knew the country through books, pictures and other composers' music.

"La Vida Breve," the opera that gained de Falla the competition prize in the year 1905, remained unplayed for eight years, none but the composers and the judges knowing of its existence. But it received its first performance in 1913 at Nice, and in a few months de Falla was wellknown to the music world in general. His output, during the last sixteen years, has been fairly large, and so popular has he become in that time, we find that his works are being performed, or have been performed, in all the principal music centres of the world.

De Falla is purely a musical thinker, that is why he is successful. He is the very soul of observation and study; there appears to be no limit to those powers. As the spirit of folk-song, folk-dance, or any kind of folk-music appealed to Chopin with excellent results, so it appealed to de Falla with equally good results. He was influenced in this direction to a large extent by the last of his teachers, Felipe Pedrell (1841-1922).

The world at large has accepted de Falla and his music. To them it is something quite new and engaging in style. So successful is de Falla that it would appear he is the most esteemed of all our modern school of composers. The combined efforts of the wireless and the gramophone companies are giving us an excellent opportunity of becoming acquainted with the music of a very interesting Spanish Composer.

LELAND J. BERRY

LOVE IS LOVE

If Thou not mine and I not Thine
Then how can I be mine,
Am I not all alone in Thee,
Love, in gloom and shine ?
The biting insult of all friends
The cruel gnaw of foes
Contempt and silence of all men
Are thorns of sweet Love-rose.
My tongue be dumb, my ears be deaf,
My eyes for ever blind.
To all that seem or feel unlove
Thou Love my flesh and mine.
—Be Thou my Death, be Thou life-breath
Unlove, forev'r be drowned in faith
Unchanging Truth Thou art
All else are changing lies,
This moment's *is*, that moment's *naught*
Truth masked they fall and rise ;
There lie, detected when they fly
And Love is Truth below, and high
Be I *this* I? Ah no, I love
There's Love alone below above.
To me this I a cruel sting
Be I the tune for Thee to sing.

MOHINI MOHAN CHATTERJI

THE PHILOSOPHY OF MRS. SAROJINI NAIDU'S POETRY

It is a profound truth that poetry, especially lyrical, expresses a philosophy of life. Poetry attempts the emotional appreciation of the universe, while Science tries to understand it through the intellect. The mind explores how a flower springs up on the twig and how it grows and what gives it the colour and the smell. The emotions of man, on the other hand, react to the beauty and sweetness of the flower; and poetry describes the joy experienced by the emotions, so that it revives in the memory. Lyrical descriptive poetry, thus, is an expression of the reactions of man's feelings towards creation. Man, again, is subjected to an endless series of experiences in life. The person endowed with a keen intellect reflects on the nature of the experiences and of his reactions to them, and then he makes scientific philosophy. The person endowed with keen emotions pours forth, for enhancement of pleasure or diminution of pain, the feelings which the experiences of life moved in him and the means by which he conquered the unpleasant ; and then he makes poetry. And as philosophy is no other than an explanation of life, every lyrical poet unconsciously expounds one system of it. His poems set forth an emotional explanation of the Universe and its phenomena. They describe, according to the poet's own experience, how man can conquer his sorrow and attain happiness, and what he has to aspire after, and how.

While, in every age and every clime, numbers of men poets have given expression to their philosophy of life, there have been very few women poets indeed. This is particularly true of India, which passed through a period in which the powers of women were generally confined within the four walls of the home. It is of very great interest, therefore, to study

the work of a great Indian poetess, such as Sarojini, with a view to find her attitude towards life.

From Sarojini we can expect a many-sided commentary. For, full of rich experience is her life. She has moved with the peoples of the leisurely East and the restless West. Fired with the zeal for reform in Society, she has set an example in her own life. Fired with the passion to elevate the millions of her countrymen, she has ever placed herself on the vanguard of all branches of public life. She has moved with the low and the high alike. She has shared the life of men as well as women. Her poems, surely, cannot help giving us a very catholic view of humanity and the universe.

The poetess shows an indomitable desire to taste life in full. She does not, like a coward, beg the Almighty to bless her with a smooth life which knows no pain. In childhood's pride she said :

> " O thou who mad'st me of thy breath,
> Speak, Master, and reveal to me
> Thine inmost laws of life and death."

The Lord did answer :

> " Child, I shall hearken to thy prayer,
> And thy unconquered soul shall know
> All passionate rapture and despair."
>
> *The Soul's Prayer.*

When, as the years pass, He tests her with sorrow and pain, she gives up not a whit of her courage. She endures the present in the hope of the morrow. In " Transcience," she gives the bright message :

> " Nay, do not pine, tho' life be dark with trouble,
> Time will not pause or tarry on his way;
> To-day that seems so long, so strange, so bitter,
> Will soon be some forgotten yesterday.
>
> Nay, do not weep; new hopes, new dreams, new faces,
> The unspent joy of all the unborn years,

Will prove your heart a traitor to its sorrow,
And make your eyes unfaithful to their tears."

In the morning of life, the call to Sarojini was one of pure love. To love was very heaven. There was need of nothing else than love to fill the cup of human joy. It was the supreme happiness of woman to give away her heart in worship of one who stood for beauty and virtue, to pass through the sorest trials and offer the greatest sacrifices to make him happy. In the poem "To Love" she explains how she has not withheld the least tittle of her powers in his service :

" O Love; of all the riches that are mine,
What gift have I withheld before thy shrine ?
What tender ecstasy of prayer and praise
Or lyric flower of my impassioned days?
What poignant dream have I denied to thee
Of secret hope, desire and memory;
Or intimate anguish of sad years, long dead,
Old griefs unstanched, old fears uncomforted,
What radiant prophecies that thrill and throng
The unborn years with swift delight of song?
O Love, of all the treasures that I own,
What gift have I with-held before thy throne?"

The "Persian Love Song" expresses with naïve art how the heart of the woman leaps gladly when her lover is happy and weeps wildly when he is sad. "A Love Song from the North" expresses the grief of one who is forsaken of her lover and whom none of the ravishing beauties of Nature is able to comfort.

In later years, the broader problems of the country occupied her attention more and more. But still her love did not diminish. In "The Offering," she says she would offer the treasures of beauty, youth, and greatness, if they were hers. She concludes that she has naught save her heart's deathless passion that asks no recompense and that she is content to wait upon humbly and kiss the shadow of feet. In "The Feast" she says, she needs no fragrant sandal-paste or scented lotus-

wreath or pearls from ravished seas. She is content with the dust honoured with his tread, his foot-prints on her breast, and the priceless boon of his sorrows and tears. In ecstasy, she describes how she has found a sweeter joy in herlover's arms than bees in spring. The " Lute Song " expresses how her lover the needs no other minstrel to sing his praise than herself, and no other couch to rest upon than her own heart, and no other atonement for his sinsthan her own life. In another poem she says that, if he calls her, she will come swifter than the forest deer or the panting dove or the enthralled snake, swifter than desire or lightning, though the chasms of death may divide them. In another poem she begs forgiveness for the sins of her love, which are the fixed gaze of her eye on her lover's face, the longing of her hands to caress his body, the boldness of her mouth in ravishing his lips, and the trespass of her heart in luring his love and solacing his sorrow. In " The Desire of Love," she would brew her soul like wine to make him strong and immortal as a god. The closing stanza of " The Vision of Love " expresses how fully Love sways her destiny :

" O poignant sword; O priceless crown,
O temple of my woe and bliss,
All pain is compassed by your frown.
All joy is centred in your kiss.
You are the substance of my breath
And you the mystic pang of Death."

Some of her poems bear on the repulses of the lover and his neglect. But generally there is neither a spirit of kindled pride nor of retaliation. She is true to the heredity of the Indian woman and believes how even by being trodden beneath the foot of Love, her life would find its consummation :

" Fierce were the wounds you struck me, O my Love,
And bitter were the blows;.....
Sweeter from your hands all suffering
Than rich love-tokens other comrades bring

Of crimson oleander and of rose.
Cold was your cruel laughter, O my Love,
And cruel were your words!.....
Sweeter such harshness on your lips than all
Love-orisons from tender lips that fall
And soft love-music of chakora-birds.
You plucked my heart and broke it, O my Love,
And bleeding, flung it down!...
Sweeter to die thus trodden of your feet,
Than reign apart upon an ivory seat
Crowned in a lonely rapture of renown."

Not that the poems are entirely without complaint. If they were so flawless, the poetess would have little in common with frail humanity. In "The Menace of Love" she threatens that the ruthless lover will be taunted by the winds of memory in the poignant malice of spring and smitten by the tumult in his own wild heart. She ends in gracefully pretended rage :

"When youth and spring and passion shall betray you
And mock your proud rebellion with defeat,
God knows, O Love, if I shall save or slay you
As you lie spent and broken at my feet."

"The Slayer" is a keenly ironical arraignment of the cruel lover, cast into a vividly dramatic form with the characteristic skill of the poetess :

"Love, if at dawn some passer-by should say,
'Lo; doth thy garment drip with morning dew ?
Thy face perchance is drenched with cold sea-spray,
Thy hair with fallen rain ?'

Make answer; 'Nay,
These be the death-drops from sad eyes I slew
With the quick torch of pain.'
If at dust a reveller should cry,
'What rare vermilion vintage hast thou spilled,
Or is thy robe splashed with the glowing dye
Of some bruised crimson leaf ?'

O Love reply:
'These be the life-drops of a heart I killed
With the swift spear of grief.' "

As has been remarked, Sarojini's most absorbing pursuit of advanced life has been the service of her country. Even the charms of spring could not hold her from the call of the loud world. In "The Fairy Isle of Janjira," she says that, though she would fain dwell in the island of wild doves, burgeoning palm-woods, singing sea-winds, and rhythmic waters, she must go atthe call of the urgent drum-beat of destiny into the strife of the throng, where brave hearts carry the sword. The duty and privilege of woman, according to Sarojini, is to keep by the side of man in all his battles for the public good, inspire him with her own courage in the march, heal the wounds in the action, and comfort him in the hours of weariness. Says she—

"'Tis mine to carry the banner of song,
The solace of faith to the lips that falter,
The succour of hope to the hands that fail,
The tidings of joy when Peace shall triumph,
When Truth shall conquer and Love prevail."

When the scarf borne on the helmet could inspire the knight-errants of old to bring out their best in the cause of their espousing, how invincible man can become, when his very banner is carried in front of him by woman and when his feet rise and fall to the measures of her songs! No less an ideal for woman and no less a blessing for man does the poetess envisage. The gift of song and of faith and hope are essentially the woman's. Where the man, in spite of his brawny strength, would faint and give up the cause, the woman with her measureless faith could hold on in sweet fortitude and give the man solace from her heart. Man seems, by nature, more doubtful and unsteady than woman, who, if she once gives her heart, withholds it not even in the sorest days of trial and suffering.

Till recently the Indian woman was the healer of man in the home. Now Mrs. Naidu calls upon her to accompany him in the

thick of the fight and serve him through the dreary nights with the songs of the dawn. In short, Sarojini holds aloft for the woman no lower an ideal than that of a Roman Volumia and an Amazonian Hyppolyta combined with the soft and saving Indian Damayanti and Savitri.

With the catholic sympathy of woman, Sarojini discerns the essential brotherhood of all the various peoples, in spite of the countless differences in details. Men have shown the inner unity underlying all religions by a close and illuminating logical analysis of the tenets and revelations. But Sarojini, with the woman's gift of appreciation through the heart, exposes the emotional oneness behind all religions in theory as well as in practice. With her characteristic skill in giving dramatic vividity to any theme, she has sung a beautiful poem, "The Call of Evening Prayer" in which the devotees of Islam, Christianity, Zoroastrianism, and Hinduism are brought together in the bond of Divine worship. Though the manners and the words vary, the essential brotherhood of man felt by the heart in the presence of the One Father is strikingly impressed on the reader.

The broad and fervid appreciation of the greatness of all religions is one of the most precious messages of Sarojini's poetry as well as her life. With the natural instinct of a Hindu guided, in addition, by the acquired taste of a wide education and culture, she has understood the greatness of the Hindu religion in its purity and sung of it in her poems. What, however, extorts the reader's admiration uniquely is the perfection of her love for the Islamic religion at the same time. Many beautiful songs has she sung in glory of Islam. They show us how harmonious the great religions are and how futile is mutual hatred and strife. The "Prayer of Islam" is one of the most moving among them, weaving into itself some of the beautiful Arabic names of God.

For consoling the sad heart, for revivifying the grief-stricken soul, Sarojini looks up to the glad spring. She emphasizes that Nature is the greatest healer of humanity.

The world offers Life the battle-ground of its destiny; Nature affords it a refuge in its weariness. When the world tires the poetess with its ceaseless striving, she flies with her Love to summer woods where they can be the companions of the dawn and the night. Even when her heart is buried under a load of sorrow, the happiness of spring is so infectious that the heart leaps up, throwing off its weight of death.

This attitude of looking upon Nature as the comforter of man or woman in grief is characteristic of her later life, when she had borne her portion of human sorrows and when she had entered into the thick of the nation's struggles. In her advanced years, none of the ardent love of Nature during her earlier life has diminished. But she wistfully bids good-bye to it for long intervals, since she must be off to respond to the call of service in the cause of the masses. Nature is a blessing which she is not destined to enjoy uninterruptedly. She does not grieve over that limitation, for she loves to serve humanity and bleed and suffer, if need be.

In early life, however, the poetess enjoyed Nature with the engrossing delight of a Keats. Many are the poems of Sarojini which chant the praises of the spring and the singing birds and blooming flowers. Nature is to her full of the mystic suggestion of harmony with Humanity which it has always had for the Hindu mind. In Nature, as is characteristic of the Hindu, she feels as if she has come into her own natural element. The dawn and the night are living companions, the lotus has hoary associations, and the serpent, mystic suggestions. The revelry of Nature leads her to call her lover, thither, so that love may find the perfection of its happiness in the most harmonious surroundings. Love in the midst of Nature is according to Sarojini, the highest happiness that the Earth can afford.

The poetess' self-fortification against the terrors of life and death is serene and simple, as woman's naturally is. She is supremely grateful to the Lord for the great gifts of the earth and sky which He has bestowed unasked, and firmly believes in

a bright eternity ;

" Men say the world is full of fear and hate,
And all life's ripening harvest-fields await
The restless sickle of relentless fate.

But I, sweet soul, rejoice that I was born,
When from the climbing terraces of corn
I watch the golden orioles of Thy morn.

What care I for the world's desire and pride,
Who know the silver wings that gleam and glide,
The homing pigeons of Thine eventide ?

What care I for the worlds loud weariness,
Who dream in twilight granaries Thou dost bless
With delicate sheaves of mellow silences ?

Say, shall I heed dull presages of doom,
Or dread the rumoured loneliness and gloom,
The mute and mythic terror of the tomb ?

For my glad heart is drunk and drenched with Thee,
O inmost wine of living ecstasy,
O intimate essence of eternity ; "

In Salutation to the Eternal Peace.

Sarojini is not a great sage. She does not reflect absorbingly on the nature of the soul, of its pristine origin, or ultimate destiny. Indeed, woman gives herself up unreservedly to the good of the present, with a simple and complete faith in the final redemption. The great women of the world have, in general, gained their immortality by devoting their lives to the living present and offering up their heart's blood to the relief of the world before their eyes. They have seldom been distracted by doubts. Hatred and revenge have never turned their lives awry. On the contrary, their lives have been fruitful, as a brimming river, with their inexhaustible love and forgiveness. This characteristic of women has its own precious lesson for man. If man were to give up his moods of doubtful cogitation and his hundred considerations of 'for' and 'against'

before and during an act, if he were to think less of the unknown beginnings and uncertain dissolutions of the universe and give of his mind and heart and body more freely to the cause of the world's immediate happiness, surely the change would be a great blessing learnt from the woman. The message of the great women, therefore, is a needed complement and corrective for the life of man. It is this message that Mrs. Naidu's poetry delivers, of a self-surrendering life of love in the midst of Nature or of an indomitable struggle of love on behalf of the poor, the lowly, and the suffering. Hers is a philosophy of giving away one's love and energy in the cause of good in the living present, supremely hopeful of the ultimate destiny and supremely happy in the privilege of giving. Hers is a purpose invincible—

> "O Fate, betwix the grinding stones of Pain,
> Though you have crushed my life like broken grain,
> Lo! I will leaven it with my tears and knead
> The bread of Hope to comfort and to feed
> The myriad hearts for whom no harvests blow
> Save bitter herbs of woe."

While for man she has the womanly message of a less thought-racked mind and a more loving, brotherly disposition and a greater self-abnegation in the present with a fuller hope in the morrow, she has a message for women, which would make them manly. In this, she has an appeal especially for Indian womanhood, which has till recently mured itself within the cramping walls of the home. To the Indian women as well as the women of the other lands she has the sinewy message that they should come out into the wide world and share the labours of men and take their Heaven-ordained places as healers and inspirers. But hers is not a violent message of obliteration of all differences. Hers is milder, more self-denying and more akin to the land of Sitas and Savitris.

S. SIVARAMAN

EARLY TALES OF THEOSOPHY IN INDIA

There can be no gainsaying about what is largely claimed for Theosophy in India, *viz.*, that it considerably influenced latter-day researchers for truth and also workers for the uplift of India. Whatever differences of opinion may have raised early regarding the cult and creed, they vanished as the faith progressed. The two founders of the Theosophical Society, Madame Helena Petrova Blavatsky and Colonel Henry Steele Olcott, landed in Bombay on February 16th, 1879. But even before them, the connection between the Society and India had taken place; from the commencement of her labours, Madame Blavatsky proclaimed openly that the inspiration of her life and the knowledge which was hers, came to her from the *Rishis* of India, whose disciple she was. From the start of the Theosophical Society at New York in November, 1875, there was associated with her as her coleague, Colonel H. S. Olcott. With H. P. B. alone, certainly there would have been theosophic culture, but without Col. Olcott there would have been no world-wide Theosophical Society. Out of their joint labours to-day have sprung the International Theosophical Society with its Headquarters at Adyar, Madras, and National Societies in 47 different countries throughout the world.

Those who write about the regeneration of India have already noted the striking rôle which the Theosophical Society has played. It was the Theosophical Society that used to invite delegates from the various parts of India to join its annual conferences,—a course which was adopted by latter-day politicians of this country and not the establishment of the Indian National Congress, forty-eight years ago and the Provincial Conferences that followed. Another of the pro-Indian activities of the Society was promotion of what has come to be called the *Swadeshi* movement. On the 25th November, 1879,

when its fourth anniversary (the first of its kind in India) was celebrated in Bombay, the President Founder arranged for a special exhibition of the arts and crafts of India. In this exhibition, as the card of invitation stated, there was "a display of machinery made by native artisans." Of course the exhibition was a small affair compared to what we have to-day at different centres. But the Theosophical Society should be given the credit of initiating the movement in the Bombay Presidency, at least, of *Swadeshi* and, by implication, of "*Buy Indian.*" It will not do to forget the services of the *National Mela* in Calcutta to which I have referred in my article on Babu Kisory Chand Mittra in *The Calcutta Review* (March, 1932). By more than a strange coincidence Mr. A. O. Hume, admittedly the father of the Indian National Congress, Sir William Wedderburn, one of its staunch supporters (both members of the Indian Civil Service), and Doctor Annie Besant, for long its life and soul, were and are staunch Theosophists. Mr. A. P. Sinnett, editor of *The Pioneer*, though belonging to the opposite school of politics was also one of its firm supporters. Strange, indeed, are the ways of true *Mahatmas'* and *Rishis'* work.

One of the leaders of Indian thoughts in recent times, Babu Peary Chand Mittra, about whom my meagre and insufficient tribute has been appreciated, came largely under the influence of Theosophy. We find the Founders of the society started to correspond with him from as far back as 1877. Some of these letters have been placed at my disposal, by Babu Sukhendralal Mittra whose recent death I very much deplore—and little apology is needed for presenting them to the readers of the Calcutta Review, the pages of which were enlivened by Babu Peary Chand's voluminous and valuable contributions. These letters will show how the founders, from far off New York, were eager to do their utmost to free Indian culture from the trammels which an alien civilization was attempting to impose.

In October, 1879, the two founders issued the first number of *The Theosophist*, a magazine which has been published with-

out a break since then. Indicative of the close relation which the Theosophical philosophy has always had in India to the regeneration of all that is the best in the land, are the articles published in this monthly. The first number includes a paper, *The Inner God*, from the pen of Babu Peary Chand Mittra. In this number also appeared a critical note of his book, *Spiritual Stray Leaves*.

In her book *Isis Unveiled* Madame Blavatsky wrote as follows :—"Some of these nobler Vedantic precepts on the soul and man's mystic powers have recently been contributed to an English periodical by a Hindu scholar" (Vol. II, page 592). She then quotes from an article contributed by Babu Peary Chand Mittra which appeared in the Human Nature (U. S.) of March 1877. She also quotes in her book (Vol. II, page 597), Babu Peary Chand's views regarding *the Buddhists' opinion of the spiritual status* from a paper which appeared in the *London Spiritualist* of 25th May, 1877, page 246. We do not find the reference of any other Indian of modern times throughout the book.

We publish below some of the letters of the founders of the Theosophical Society but are sorry that the reply to these interesting letters are not forthcoming. We, however, publish one letter from Babu Peary Chand Mittra, written at the time that he resigned the Presidentship of the Bengal Theosophical Society. The letters will speak for themselves and require very little comment.

The Theosophical Society,
New York, June 5th, 1877.

BABU PEARY CHAND MITTRA.

DEAR SIR,

In November 1875 the Theosophical Society was organised in New York to promote the study of the esoteric religious philosophies of the East. Some of the founders were materialists

and sought evidence of Man's immortality; some Christians wished to know if their cherished religion was indeed born in Hindustan; some spiritualists, who were surfeited with mediumistic phenomena and looked to the Indian pagodas for explanation of the dark doings of the American circle rooms. Of this heterogeneous assemblage I was chosen leader, not because of superior erudition, but only because some familiarity with public life and public men seemed to make me available as President.

The results that might have been expected ensued: the majority tired of dry philosophy inspired with novel phenomena; the few found their zeal grow intenser every day and themselves more and more enamoured of India, her people, her wisdom, and her golorious past. Of these few, I believe I may safely say that none has gone farther or deeper than myself into this enchanted domain. I have been highly favored with instruction, theoretical and *practical*,—and it is no exaggeration to say that modern spiritualism, which I had vainly studied for more than twenty years, to discover its secret, has in these last twenty months, become to me almost an open book. I discover that these phenomena are but copies of others that have been witnessed in India from time immemorial, and that man need not wait for death to demonstrate the powers of his immortal spirit.

Your name, respected Sir, is well-known among all intelligent Spiritualists in America. Personally I have heard much of you and your studies from Mrs. Emma H. Britten (a member of the Council of our society) and Mr. J. M. Publis. I have also read what has been contributed by your pen to the London *Spiritualist*. Your views upon the spiritual states which Mr. Calder has inserted in the number for May 25th, so coincide with those of our revered colleague and teacher, Mme. H. P. Blavatsky, that the Council have instructed me to respectfully request the privilege of enrolling your name among our corresponding Fellows. These views of yours are exactly what we are trying to spread throughout this Christian country

(where every precept of Christ is constantly violated, and hypocrisy and sensualism stalk through every church under cover of the priestly robe and the episcopal mitre).

We want to combat and help to overthrow this pernicious doctrine of the Atonement, and teach people that Eternal Justice exacts the personal expiation of every offence, even the most trivial, as it rewards the least as well as the greatest action of virtue and benevolence. I go so far as to say that the assurance of divine pardon through the vicarious suffering of the poor Jesus, begets nearly every crime of "civilization," and is dragging all Christendom into the abyss of moral ruin.

Among our corresponding Fellows are the Rev. Stainton Moses, C. C. Massey, and Miss E. Kislingbury of London, Prince Wiltgenslein, Hon. Alex. Aksallof and Mlle. Fadaieff of Russia, Baron and Baroness Von Vay of Hungary; and other nobles and scholars in various parts of the world. The society is a secret one—its active Fellows are unknown to the world and, mainly, to each other. I only know all and each. It publishes no works as a body, but individual Fellows are known as authors, and several are now about to publish volumes upon Oriental subjects. Among this Mme. Blavatsky's "Isis Unveiled" (2 vols. large 8vo pp. about 1400—to appear in London and New York in September); Mr. Geo. Henry Felt's "The Kabballah of the Egyptians" (large folio in 10 parts, with several hundred plain and coloured engravings); Professor Stainton Moses' "Essays and Reviews," and Professor Alexander Wildar's "Serpent Worship" are the chief. Many of our Fellows are connected, in one capacity or another, with the quarterly, monthly, weekly and daily press. As occasion offers, each in his own sphere and after his own fashion, helps to disseminate liberal ideas about the East, her people and her religious philosophies. If you will join us we impose only these conditions. What facts we give you as arcane, you are to keep yourself; all others you may communicate as you will. In return, we ask you, wherever it may be convenient, to write to us

such things as you know will interest a body of men and women who feel towards your country and countrymen almost a tie of consanguinity. What you wish kept secret, shall be so kept; the rest we wish to employ where and when it may seem likely to advantage a cause dear to your heart as to ours.

You will have intuitively felt, of course, that the one who addresses you and these few others whom he includes in the personal pronoun "we," are not Christians, in the remotest sense of the term. We are—I will not say Brahmanists, I will not say Buddhists, but adherents of that Secret Doctrine, or World Religion that ante-dated both these great sects that now bear those familiar titles. We thoroughly believe that Nirvana does not mean annihilation, all the Max Müllers and Erlangen Pundits to the contrary, notwithstanding. We believe in the Unknowable Deity, from which emanated the Creative First Cause, in the cyclic progression of man's spirit, down into matter and back again up into Nirvana. We feel the wrongs inflicted by Christianity and its Missionaries upon "heathen" peoples, and would arouse here, within the enemy camp, a diversion in your favour. In fact, we have been doing this for many months already. Latterly we have been having a controversy in New York daily papers about Jacolliot. The *Sun* brands him as "a French fraud," and Professor Whitney of Yale College writes me that he regards him as "a humbug of the first water."

Will you, Sir, kindly tell me how this prolific French writer is esteemed by Native scholars, and particularly by the Brahmans? Are his translations accurate, and his general reflections upon Indian affairs accepted as just? I will not ask you if he has told the truth as to certain lascivious *esoteric* rites he pretends to have seen in pagodas. Those I feel sure are unblushing falsehood—attributable to the French lust after sensationalism and sensual indulgences. But do his work, as a whole, tell the truth about your country; and has he accurately and impartially translated your sacred texts?

Our society has not confined itself to words. Last year we

buried a Fellow, the Baron De Poem, with oriental ceremonies including the employment of fire upon an altar, the phallic cross and serpent, hymns, a litany, etc., and in December last we took the body from the receiving vault of the Cemetery and cremated it in public. Both events created great talk, and as you may imagine, the religious press indulged in much indignant protest. One leading organ, the *Presbyterian Banner*, berated me soundly for affirming in my oration at the cremation that the Institutes of Manu were in existence "more than a thousand years before Moses."

You live so far away from here, and it requires so much time to exchange letters, that I will venture to transmit your Diploma without waiting to hear from you; at the same time expressing the hope that it may please you to retain it.

Awaiting your reply, on behalf of my colleagues and myself,

I have the honour to remain,
Dear Sir,
Your obedient servant,
H. S. OLCOTT,
President.[1]

* * * *

71, Broadway, New York,
September 14th, 1817.

MY DEAR SIR,

Your acceptance of the Diploma of our Society has afforded us all pleasure, for, as I remarked in my letter of 5th June, you are known in this country, and by many appreciated at your full volume. Your essay on the Psychology of the Aryas had prepared us to enjoy the one on the Psychology of the Buddhists which has just appeared in the London *Spiritualist*. I am somewhat anxious to see what will be said of the latter by the critics of Europe, who pretend to know so much about Buddhism, but only

[1] Original preserved in the archives of the Theosophical Society, Adyar, Madras.

succeed in proving that they do not know its alphabet. The time is auspicious, I think, for a thorough exposition of oriental philosophies. Christianity has nearly run its course, the Popish half is lapsing into Fetishism, the Protestant into Nihilism. In a Paris letter I saw, the other day, that France is rapidly becoming Paganised, each district, if not town, having set up its tutelar god or goddess, to whom the most fervent aspirations of the faithful are directed. Sacerdotalism has eaten out the heart of faith, like a hidden cancer working within one's body. Its blight is upon all Christendom. Vice and crime increase daily under the fostering influence of the dogma of the Atonement; the white races are becoming sensualised and brutalised, society is honeycombed with drunkenness, hypocrisy, sexual sin, breach of trust, fraudulent commercial usage. Meanwhile, millions are lavished upon gorgeous churches, the pay of the clergy increases, vast sums are spent to send missionaries to lie to the *Heathen* about the practical benefits of Christianity, the court calendars are burdened with cases of seduction, rape, adultery, by church members and often by pastors; there are poisonings, arsons, forgeries and every other crime of the Decalogue by the same classes of persons. You may boldly say this to your countrymen and say it upon my individual and official authority; I guarantee to make good every assertion if it should be doubted. You will find upon reading Madame Blavatsky's book that one chief object of the Theosophical Society is to make these facts known to the *Heathen*, the better to convince them that it is a thousand times better that they should hold to the pure faiths of their fathers, and exemplify, as they always have, in their everyday life the morality and spiritual-mindedness they inculcate, than embrace a bastard creed, with a patchwork Revelation which offers a premium for crime, and which does actually give the *viaticum* every day and hour to wretches whose violations of law deserve a terrible retribution. I personally descend from one of the "Puritan Fathers" who, bigots and tyrants though they were, at least sacrificed home and all for their religious convictions.

I should be recreant indeed were I not ready to do the same now; and so it comes that what is here written, has been publicly spoken and written by me in this country, and will be repeated until I die. But, as I said to you before, we are few in number and need help. To Indian scholars like yourself we stretch out our hands. We seek neither notoriety, profit nor advantage. We give our time, money, labour—all. You may imagine what it costs in a Christian community to proclaim oneself a heathen—it means just what the conversion of a high caste to Christianity in Northern or Southern India would mean—the degree of social ostracism differing of course with the peoples. Now, sir, will you and your friends co-operate with us? We can do much for each other: you can teach us about your religions, we can spread that knowledge here. We can give you facts that your countrymen ought to know about *practical* Christianity, you can disseminate them among the poor dupes of the missionaries. Give me the names of men whom you can enlist with you in organising a branch of our society and I will send them diplomas. This need not burden your time, for you need not meet regularly. There are young men about you, full of zeal, who would doubtless be glad to take the labour upon themselves under your direction. Give me their names. Stainton Moses and C. C. Mossey and other reforming spiritualists are about organising a branch in London. The pledge enclosed has been taken by *every* Fellow, Active or Corresponding; please sign one and return to me. What you write to me as President will be kept secret, except as you give me permission to use it with my associates or the public or either. I send you a copy of my official obligation (which so far as designating Fellows, to whom the pledge is given, is varied with the country to which they belong. Thus if I were addressing a French, English, German, Greek or other correspondent, I should say in France, England, Germany, Greece, etc., "or elsewhere").

Last week I received a diploma of membership in the

"Royal Oriental Order of Apex and of the Sat B'Lai," and have been given a responsible office in which I hope to do some good for the Truth and the good Cause. One of the most influential editors of this country told me recently that if I could persuade some truly pious Hindoo scholar to come here, and discourse every Sunday upon the oriental religions, we could "sweep the country." He would have to be a man whose life would bear the closest scrutiny, and who would be competent to debate theological questions with our best divines. He thought the country was ripe for such teachings, for exact science is fast destroying the popular faith in immortality, and the people are falling into materialism for lack of some better refuge. I thoroughly concur in this opinion, but unless your friends in India can find the man and the means we can do nothing. I know the obstacle of caste, and I have to leave the whole subject to your wise discretion. Our society is too poor to offer any pecuniary aid. One such preacher here would do more to rid India of the incubus of missionaries than any other agency. I can ensure him the widest publicity for his teachings, through the press, with the conductors of which I have very extensive acquaintance.

Have you seen anything in Indian journals about the cremation of Baron De Poem's body last year by our society, or the funeral rites in the "pagan" form that we celebrated? If so, will you not oblige us by sending me a copy or copies of the paper or papers ?

Mme. Blavatsky quotes extensively in her book from your essay on the Aryas, and would gladly have done so with your other essay if it had been received before her pages had been stereotyped. Let us have from time to time whatever you give to the public. The American journals have begun to notice the above-named book already in advance of its publication and soon we shall be showered with the abuse of the Christian organs. But this we expected and do not dislike; better abuse and denunciation than silence.

Conveying to you the cordial regards of my associates, and the assurances of my personal high esteem,

I am, Dear Sir,
Yours respectfully,
H. S. OLCOTT.[1]

To the BABU PEARY CHAND MITTRA,

Calcutta, India.

* * * *

No. 302, West 47th Street,
New York, 1st October, 1877.

DEAR SIR,

The noble work upon which our erudite corresponding Secretary, Madame H. P. Blavatsky, has for two years been engaged, was published on Saturday last. I rejoice to say that it meets with instant favor; the entire first edition being already sold and orders coming in by every mail from libraries, societies, clergymen and other professionals, and, in fact, from the whole public, as it would seem.

Enclosed I send you a clipping from yesterday's New York *Herald* which contains certainly a most appreciative criticism. Bernard Quarritch is the London publisher, and will, I am told, send circulars to every one of his hundreds of patrons throughout Europe and Asia. Thus, at last, an exhaustive presentation of the claims of oriental thought to the homage of western nations, in conjunction with a merciless analysis of the pretended infallibility of their scientists and theologians, will be made. I esteem it the highest honor that could have been conferred upon me that I am permitted to occupy the Presidential Chair of a Society to which so grand a work has been dedicated.

[1] Original preserved in the archives of the Theosophical Society, Adyar, Madras.

If you shall share our gratitude and enthusiasm upon seeing the book, may I request you as an honoured corresponding Fellow of the Society, to cause the *Herald's* critique to be copied into one or more journals, that circulate among our brethren, the Hindus? I wish them to know that our little corps of allies is working for their interests and honor among the Christians. Who knows but that, in time, through our labors some palpable good may issue to the people of India: in the fable, you recollect, a very tiny mouse gnawed the net that held the lion captive.

We are about to commence immediately the preparation of another work specially aimed at the vices of the Christian clergy. With assurances of great personal esteem,

I am, Dear Sir,
Yours respectfully,
H. S. OLCOTT,
President, Theosophical Society. [1]

BABU PEARY CHAND MITTRA

* * * *

New York,
25, Decr., 1877.

BABU PEARY CHAND MITTRA

DEAR SIR AND BROTHER,

By this mail I send you copies of five American papers which contain notices of our Secretary, Madame Blavatsky's work, *Isis Unveiled,* and one which speaks of our society in particular, I will be glad to have you put them in circulation among natives who take, or are likely to take some interest in the development of religious philosophy among western people. I want to find, when I come to India,—as my present purpose is

[1] Original preserved in the archives of the Theosophical Society, Adyar, Madras.

to do before many months,—a number of true souls prepared to extend the hand of fraternal welcome to one who loves their land and race. Among your acquaintance either in Calcutta or elsewhere, in or outside the pagodas, there must be some who would find opportunity and the will to correspond with us. Think, my revered Brother, how isolated is our little cluster of Theosophists, among all these millions of materialists and bigots, and judge how we must long to be in frequent communication with those who think, work and pray as we do.

We are doing what we can to bring spiritualists here to realise how little their "guides" and "controls" have taught them in thirty years of the nature, powers and destiny of man, and how much they may learn by studying the records of Indian metaphysics and psychology. The columns of both the *Banner of Light* and the *Religio-Philosophical Jaurnal* now stand wide open for our contributions—a most surprising change of the *status* of affairs. So, too, the *London Spiritualist* offers us its hospitality. I hope you saw the number of Dec. 14th of the latter journal, with Miss Kislingbury's Report of her American observations. Mme. Blavatsky and I will soon go to London, whence we will *not* return, but probably continue on towards India. Just now, at the request of the Government Commissioner-General I am assisting him in organising our National Exhibit at the Paris Exposition; but this will not occupy me very long. With fraternal salutations, I am, Dear Sir and Brother,

Yours respectfully,

H. S. OLCOTT.

Please tell us what you know of the psychological phenomena of fakirs and gurus. We wish to correspond with others who have had like experiences and believe and *know* their possibility.

* * * *

Editor's Office of the Theosophist,
Breach Candy, Bombay, India.

DEAR MR. PEARY CHAND,

I am always glad to hear from you and to second your intelligent efforts to counteract the deplorable despiritualization of our people. Your new work will of course be noticed in our journal but allow me to suggest that the very best way to introduce it to the notice and secure the interest of our readers is to publish a chapter or half chapter—if too long—in our columns and have it accompanied with an editorial para. from us as to the price, publishers, etc. This plan has proved most successful in America. This is of course to be done in advance of publication and from advanced sheets. If you want to do this send me the matter at once and I will make room for it in our April No.

Please read my lecture on India in the forthcoming March No. and tell me whether I take the right view of the situation. I try my best to get at the truth and rely always more upon my personal observations among the natives than upon any possibly prejudiced foreign authorities. Yesterday I gave my annual public address in Bombay to a large audience which included the leaders of Native Society. From my reception I infer that my remarks were liked, and that the shameful falsehoods circulated about us and our views have not seriously injured our standing. It is a hard thing to have to bear such slanderous attacks as we have had from the people we have so identified ourselves with.

Wishing you health and every happiness, I am, as ever,

Ffly. yours,

H. S. OLCOTT.[1]

Babu P. C. Mitra,

* * * *

[1] Original preserved in the archives of the Theosophical Society, Adyar, Madras.

Colombo, Ceylon,
August 17, 1881.

MY RESPECTED BROTHER,

I am sending off to the *Theosophist* a notice of your excellent pamphlet on the soul, which I hope may not be unsatisfactory, I plead the urgent engagements of my present work as an excuse for not making it longer. With the management of so great a campaign as this upon one's hands, it may be well conceded that one can scarcely do much outside literary work. Your pamphlet, like all its predecessors, testifies to your wide reading, accurate thinking and high motives. I regret, however, to find you accepting so unreservedly the alleged utterances of departed worthies through mediums. Years ago, I lost all my faith in such, and undertook to judge the matter entirely apart from the assumed revelator. As to the pretended outgivings of Professor Mapes (whom Cora Hatch so loves to quote) I can speak by the book. I was a pupil of his and co-editor of his *Agricultural Journal*, I also intimately know his family. They and I agree in saying that every discourse ascribed to him by Mrs. Hatch-Tapper is hers, not his. I hope your brochure will have a wide circulation and that you may long live to publish others.

Ever your attached,
H. S. OLCOTT.[1]

BABU P. C. MITTRA,
The Theosophical Society.

302, W. 47th Street,
New York, December 12th, 1877.

PEARY CHAND MITTRA, ESQUIRE,

DEAR SIR,

I am instructed by the "Society" to inform you of the fact that a dispute has arisen for the settlement of which your aid as a Corresponding Member of the Theosophical Society is desired. It involves the correctness of certain statements made by some of our unprejudiced scholars respecting the Brahmanical

[1] Original preserved in the archives of the Theosophical Society, Adyar, Madras.

calculations by the Zodiac They seek to demonstrate that India is not alone the cradle of human race, but also the source of civilization and science.

Some orthodox Christian writers aver that of the great astronomical cycle—the precision of the equinoxes which is completed in 25,868 years—less than one-fourth has passed since the world was created and man appeared upon earth. In short, that not even the first cycle has yet accomplished its revolution. This is the old, ridiculous and exploded notion based upon the pretended Biblical Chronology.

To this, we Theosophists, answer that not only one but many cycles have been passed through—so many that no man can calculate the number, except perhaps in India. For proof we point to the Zodiacs of the Brahmanic pagodas, which we claim to be the nearest infallibility as to correctness; all Christian scorn and abuse to the contrary, notwithstanding. You are in a position to verify our assertions by being upon the spot; and since you have expressed a willingness to labor with us in our researches, the Society will be pleased to hear from you at your early convenience.

We wish to know, what pagoda contains the most ancient calculations, and at what age its historical records begin. If the records of different pagodas vary in antiquity, we would know how far back the learned Brahmans respectively place the beginnings of their infallible astronomical chronology. We do not ask what age they ascribe to the earth; for, of course, that may be known by the four yugs, and the respective number of years of the four summed up very easily. But when does your *historical* period begin? In what pagodas are the records preserved? Where are these temples situated and what are their names, and how old is each known to be?

The Western world depends for its facts about the Orient upon missionaries, and civilians of various grades interested in supporting Christianity—the gigantic fraud of so-called "civilized" nations. In other words, garbled facts are presented to

a prejudiced court, by interested witnesses. Our work is to show the truth, and to do it, we count upon the help of our affiliated correspondents and the other native scholars whom they can enlist in the good cause.

Hoping for a favourable answer.

I am, Dear Sir, with respect and esteem for yourself (and devoted love for your country),

Yours very truly,

H. P. BLAVATSKY,

Corresponding Secretary of the Theosophical Society.[1]

New York,
302, W. 47th Street.

New York,
April 10, 1878.

PEARY CHAND MITTRA, ESQUIRE.

MY DEAR SIR,

I cannot thank you enough for the various publications you have been kind enough to send me. They have all been attentively read and appreciated. Of them all, the one which treats upon the condition of women in India, has perhaps, pleased me most, though the biography of David Hare has nearly reconciled me with European races, which I most cordially hate, by showing me that they are not altogether contemptible and that there are truly good, *godly* people among my Western countrymen. The disabilities under which the female sex labors among Western peoples spring mainly from the fact that men regard them for the most part as instruments of lust, than as equals and companions. Despising them when gratified in this direction, they of course cannot respect them. And women in their turn accept their degrading position, and busy themselves principally in making their physical charms more alluring. Speak of the Ceylonese and Travancore women going naked, with but a short skirt! An English woman would turn in disgust from her, but at the same time attend the Queens's "drawing room"

[1] Original preserved in the archives of the Theosophical Society, Adyar, Madras.

in a costume so provokingly immodest—wearing but a *sash* instead of a bodice—as to make men themselves blush to their ears for shame! Even the London Court papers have recently protested against such a *naked* exhibition,—the new fashion. In my eyes, your poorest woman, who goes about as God created her, is thousand times more respectable than these European prostitutes of the Courts—the aristocracy of the various kingdoms. The more I see of Christianity and Christendom, the more disgusted I am with both, and the warmer grows my love and respect for the dark-skinned races. I was myself brought up with the Buddhist Kalmucks, [I was living] in the steppes of Astrachan (Caspian Sea) till the age of ten.

I am sorry that you have not given me the information I wanted about the Brahmanical calculations of the Zodiac, I hope you do not place too great a value upon European science; in my opinion, the greatest of the Tindalls is but a puling babe beside some of your Brahmans, who, scorn to disabuse Europeans who take them for ignoramuses. What I want is their legends, what they maintain in *their* teachings about the age of the world and *man*. From European Science, the public gets nothing but misrepresentations and crude guesses. Generally slaves of public opinion, they care but for their official positions and wages, and so, stick to the old exploded notions of the Jewish Bible with its 6000 [years] of the world.

Do please tell me, *theosophically* and "on the square," as Masons say, whether you believed with Publes and other spiritualists, in the so called "materialization" of spirits, of pure disembodied man, I infer from your writings that *you do not.* But Publes would have us all understand, that not only you but all other Hindu gentlemen who justly believe in the soul's immortality and a *subjective* communication between the two worlds are *spiritualists* like himself. I presume you have seen the controversy between us (theosophists) and the orthodox Spiritualists that has been going on for some months past in the London spiritual papers. Some of the best men have come

round to our side, and we are constantly growing stronger. While the *Spiritualist* and the *Banner of Light* in days past have classed me as a *non*-spiritualist, the *Indian Daily News* of Calcutta and various secular papers in other countries abuse me and my book for its author being a "Spiritualist!!!" This is comical and perplexing. *I am a spiritualist,* but of another sort, and I flatter myself of a little more philosophical sort. I will never believe that a pure spirit can reclothe itself in gross matter (which smells at seances like a corpse), nor that all mediumistic communications are of necessity from a "spirit" source or individuality. And on this question, some of your Brahmans are more than other men competent to discriminate. Will you kindly tell us whether we err or not? Will you help us to be enlightened? People (foolish spiritualists) call and believe me an *Adept.* They verily suspect that I *was initiated in the Pagodas*! I, a woman, and a European!! The absurdity of such a notion, is really calculated to make one stare in amazement. I at least never pretended such a flagrant lie. I know too much of India and its customs not to be well aware that no European man—let alone a *woman,*—could ever penetrate into the inner recesses of the Pagodas. But I have had many friends among Buddhists and knew well two Brahmins at Travancore and learned a good deal from them. I belong to the secret sect of the Druzes of the Mount Lebanon and passed a long life among dervishes, Persian mullahs and mystics of all sort. Therefore, I am well acquainted with the phenomena—loosely called Spiritual in every case—and came to the conviction that most of the phenomena can be produced without there being either jugglery and fraud or *Spiritual* manifestations. I have in short, too great a veneration for the Spirit of disembodied man, to believe that he who was a good and pure man on earth, instead of pursuing his progress towards "Nirvana" or "Moksha," will degrade his spirit by returning on earth, to throw guitars and bells at the people's heads for 50 cents the seance! But in *subjective* communication I believe thoroughly

for *I know* it to be true. I believe in the *possession* and *obsession* by spirits, etc.

Hoping you will excuse this uncalled for "profession of faith," which I wanted you to know in case you should read my book, I will now close. I am very sorry to have to deny myself the pleasure of sending you a copy of "It is Unveiled" for the present, but the fact is that *not a single copy* of the 3rd edition remains in the publisher's hands; and of a Bombay order for 100 copies he could send but 34, until he gets out the fourth edition.

Hoping for a reply at your early convenience,

I remain, Dear Sir,
Very gratefully and sincerely yours,
H. P. BLAVATSKY,[1]

Please excuse the horrid writing.

Bombay,
March 24, 1879.

Corresponding Secretary of the T. S. A. S., Bombay.

MY DEAR SIR,

I have received with gratitude and pleasure the pamphlet on the Aryas which you were good enough to send me. It proves to me, that you have not forgotten my existence and that you heartily welcome us to your native land.

As I told you before, we come here to live and die with the Hindoos. And I hope that sooner or later we may enjoy the satisfaction of personally meeting you.

This will be taken to you by an intelligent young gentleman from Calcutta who has been passing some days here and has been much interested in the work of our Theosophical Society. He will tell you about the magnificent success which we had yesterday on the occasion of the President's (Col. Olcott) address to

[1] Original preserved in the archives of the Theosophical Society, Adyar, Madras.

the native public of Bombay. Though we are not "inspired prophets," especially delegated by God, Jesus, John and Paul, yet we do hope to do in our own humble way as much good for India as the heaven-sent Legatus of Brahmo-Church—especially as we have no daughters to marry the Rajas.

Hoping this will find you in good health,

I am, Dear Sir,
Yours sincerely and truly,
H. P. BLAVATSKY.

PEARY CHAND MITTRA, ESQ.,
Calcutta.

* * * * * *

Girgaum Back Road, 108, Bombay,
21st May, 1888.

MY DEAR BROTHER,

The severe sickness, which confines me to bed, will of course, prevent my personal attendance at the first anniversary celebration of our Bengal Theosophical Society. But as you know, and as the testimony of a life's studies and writings prove, my spirit is present with you and all who work for the moral regeneration of humanity and the spread of spiritual truth. Had I not so full a knowledge of the blessed activities which await man beyond the Vale of the Shadow, I could not, without a pang, face the contingency that my lamp is flickering in its socket at the very time when you are beginning your Theosophical work in India. With all the ardour of perfect sympathy, would I have rejoiced to take a part in that work, and, if it is true, as I know it is, that though dead in body, man's spirit may still share in the labours he loved, then, believe me, dear Brother, that though corporeally separated from you, my soul shall still be with you in all holy desires, aspirations and good works, to the end. So may God give us the true light which we seek for and the desire to make

our lives whether long or short, to be an occasion to perfect ourselves in holiness and wisdom.

Yours affectionately,
PEARY CHAND MITTRA.

To Col. H. S. OLCOTT.

* * * * * *

Babu Peary Chand Mittra was by no means solitary in his loyalty to Theosophy. Prominent public men and scholars like Maharajah Sir Jotindra Mohan Tagore (at whose palace H. P. B. and Col. Olcott stayed during their first visit in Calcutta in 1882), Raja Shama Sanker Roy of Teota, Mr. Subba Rao, Justice Sir Subramania Iyer, Babu Sishir Kumar Ghose, Rai Debendra Chandra Ghose, Bahadur (father of Justice Sir C. C. Ghose), Rai Priya Nath Mukerjee, Bahadur, Mr. C. Shanne, Barrister-at-Law, Babu Hirendra Nath Dutt, M.A., B.L., Babu Mohini Mohan Chatterjee, M.A., B.L., Babu Jogendra Nath Mitra, M.A., B.L. (Principal, Uttarpara College), Mr. J. Ghosal, Rai Narendra Nath Sen, Bahadur, Babu Monmotho Mohan Bose, M.A. (of the Scottish Churches College), Babu Bhagwan Das, Babu Promoda Das Mittra, Babu Upendra Nath Bose (the last three of Benares) and other eminent sons of India—for their names are legion—have paid it their life-long homage. It should therefore be of interest to note how a pioneer like Babu Peary Chand Mittra felt and expressed himself about this great organization, that by its publication and preaching have assisted dormant India in the difficult task of self-realization and self-consciousness.

DEVA PRASAD SARVADHIKARY

PRE-ARYAN ELEMENTS IN INDIAN CULTURE [1]

Sun Worship.

In Part I of this article, contributed to the May 1931 issue of the *Calcutta Review*, we have seen that Early Man was a keen observer of all the beneficial forces of nature. He must have observed what a part the Sun Spirit plays in the cultivation of the soil. It is for this reason that in almost all centres of agriculture we find associated with the cult of the Mother Goddess a cult of the Sun-god. As Indus Valley was a seat of the Mother Goddess cult it is natural that we should also find there the associated cult of Sun worship. An evidence of such a cult has been found in the representation of the *Swastika* and the wheel symbols on certain seals found there. Such seals number more than a score.

In ancient times the Sun was not represented anthropomorphically. He was represented symbolically. His distinctive symbols were a wheel, or a disc, a bull or a conventionalized device known as *Swastika*.

Evidence of the worship of the Sun also come from the pre-Aryan Copper age sites of Gungeria in the Balaghat Sub-division of the Central Provinces. There, associated with numerous copper axes, were found silver Sun discs and schematic representation of the bull's head, which is also a solar symbol.

We all know that Sun worship was also prevalent among the Aryan immigrants of India. There is no evidence in the Vedas to show that the Aryan cult of the Sun underwent any change by pre-Aryan influences. In later times, Sun worship in India was considerably modified by the introduction into India of

[1] This is the second of a series of articles embodying the author's investigations as Research Scholar of the University during 1929-31.

the Magian cult of the Sun worship. But notwithstanding these alien influences the pre-Aryan cult of the Sun survives to the present day in popular Hinduism. The *Chatparab* of the Biharis and the *Itupuja* of the Bengalis—revealing the connection of the Sun worship with the forces of vegetation—and the *Raldurgabrata* of the latter people—revealing the connection of the cult with the mother goddess cult—are instances of this.

The Cult of the Linga and Yoni.

Certain stone *lingas* have been found in the Indus Valley. The chessmen-like objects and the ringstones from Mohenjo-daro and Harappa have also been interpreted by Sir John Marshall as symbols of linga and yoni. It appears from the ubiquitous distribution of these symbols at Harappa and Mohenjo-daro that the cult was a very popular one in the Indus Valley. Linga worship in India has a very remote history. It dates back to the Neolithic period. Stone lingas have been found from various Neolithic sites in Southern India.

Przyluski in his paper on "Non-Aryan Loans in Indo-Aryan" has shown that both the words *lāngula* (plough) and *linga* (penis) are of Austro-Asiatic origin and in their origin and in their etymology they mean one and the same thing. He says that *linga* in the sense of penis has equivalents in the non-Aryan languages of the East whereas it has no equivalents in the Indo-European languages of the West. In accordance with its etymological meaning the word *lāngulam* when introduced into the Sanskrit vocabulary came to mean both the plough and the penis. On the other hand, especially in the Sutras and the Mahābhārata a form *lāgula* is found to mean both the penis and the tail (of an animal). If the equivalence *lāngula-lāngala* is authorised then the semantic evolution of the word would be easily understood. From penis one can easily pass without difficulty to the sense of plough and tail. There are evident analogies between copulation and the act of ploughing

by which one digs up the earth for depositing the seed. The problem becomes more complicated from the fact that, almost inevitably the word *linga* which strongly resembles the two other words and has the meaning of penis comes in. Some Austro-Asiatic peoples use even to-day not a plough to furrow but a simple pointed stick for digging holes in which they place the seeds (Skeat and Blagden, *Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula*, I, p. 348). There the analogy between the penis and the farming instrument is as clear as possible. Profs. Hubert and Maus point out that in Melanesia and Polynesia the farming stick has often the form of a penis. In some Polynesian languages the same word designates the penis and the digging stick (*cf.* Tregear, *Maori Comparative Dictionary*, under "Ko"; and Violette, *Dictionaire Samoan-Francais* under "Oga"). It is possible that the aborigines of India at first knew the use of this stick and that the name of the instrument for digging the soil has not changed after the introduction of the plough.

In these circumstances, it seems highly probable that the Aryans have not only borrowed from the aborigines the cult of Linga but the name of the cult as well. That Linga worship was of un-Aryan origin is clearly shown by the opprobrious terms applied to the phallic worshippers in the Rigveda. The rarity of phallic worship among other Indo-European peoples supports the thesis advanced here.

One fact that unmistakably follows from the opprobrious terms applied to the phallus worshippers in the Rigveda is that there were tribes living in the Indus Valley in Rigvedic times who worshipped the lingam and whom the Vedic Aryans hated for their un-Aryan mode of worship. Could not the phallic worshippers of the Rigvedic times be the descendants of the Indus Valley people who worshipped the lingam in the Chalcolithic Age?

In post-Vedic times Linga worship gradually became introduced into the orthodox pantheon and to-day it is an indissoluble part of Saivism.

Totemism and Theriomorphism.

Animals were an important element in the religious ideas of the pre-Aryan peoples of India. This is shown by the evidence of the seals, which have been found in great number in almost every house at Harappa and Mohenjo-daro. They bear legends in the script of a language whose meaning and affinities are still unknown.

Immediately under the inscriptions are to be found engraved representation of various animals, such as, humped bull, tiger, rhinoceros, monkey, elephants, etc., and some other queer animals. At the back of the seal there is a knob to hold the seal. There is no doubt that they were used for stamping. The legends probably represented the name of the owner of the seal, the animal, the emblem of the particular totemic clan to which he belonged. "That totems played an important part in the religion of the Indus people seems evident from the statues and other representations of a strange composite animal, partly ram, partly bull, and partly elephant, as well as from a multitude of other animals—real or fabulous—engraved on the seals, among which attention may be drawn especially to a pair of ass-headed creatures singularly like those depicted on a well-known Myzenian gem from Vaphic in Greece." That totemism played an important part in the religion of the pre-Aryan Indian is also proved by the fact that totemism strongly prevails among the various pre-Aryan peoples of the Central Hills and Jungles. In many cases the totems represented on the Indus valley seals are identical with the totems of these peoples. It really looks as if among these pre-Aryan peoples of India cultural development had been arrested at a stage that the Indus valley people had traversed before their history began. From totemism arose a local cult of animals which developed into theriomorphism and ultimately became introduced into Aryan religion.

Totemism had no place in the religious ideas of the Rigvedic

Aryan. The paucity of its prevalence among other Indo-European peoples proves its absence in Aryan religion. But the names of certain deities and tribes in the Rigveda are reminiscent of totemic origin. They thus bespeak inclusion within the Aryan fold of certain indigenous totemic clans. Though these indigenous tribes secured places within the Aryan fold yet they could not influence Aryan thought with their totemic concepts and gradually lost all traces of totemism excepting its survival in their names. If totemism had no hold on the Vedic Aryans, theriomorphism had certainly a fast hold on them. We find theriomorphism in a more developed form in the Atharvaveda than in the Rigveda. This is significant for this shows un-Aryan influence on Aryan religious ideas. This theriomorphism of deities could not have been of Aryan origin, or growth. Had it been the case then we would have found it in a more developed form in the Rigveda than in the Atharvaveda. In the evolution of religious ideas theriomorphism of deities has preceded anthropomorphism and not *vice versa*. This theriomorphism of deities ultimately developed into the idea of the *vāhanas* of Hindu deities.

The Bull Element.

The Bull was the theriomorphic conception of the Supreme Deity of the pre-Aryan peoples. Thus the Father God of the Sumerians was called "the Bull of Heaven." He was represented on archaic Sumerian seals as wearing Bull's horn and pictured as attended by a bull. Asur, the supreme deity of the Asurs, the people of Asur (modern Kal'at Sherghat) was also conceived as a bull. When theriomorphic ideas were introduced into Aryan religion it is natural that Indra, the supreme deity of the Aryans, should be theriomorphised as a bull. Thus, Indra is called "the Bull of Heaven" just as the Supreme Deity of the Sumerians was called. The theriomorphisation of Indra reached

its zenith in the Atharvaveda as evident from the following hymn :—

" The Bull supports the widespread earth and heaven.
The Bull supports the spacious air between them.
The Bull supports the Sky's six spacious regions.
The Universal World hath he pervaded.

" The Bull is Indra ; over the beasts he watches.
He, Sakya, measures out three several pathways.
He milking out the Worlds, the past, the future,
Discharges all the God's eternal duties.
Being produced among mankind as Indra, the caldron
Works heated and brightly glowing.
Let him not with good sons, pass off in vapour
who hath not eaten of the Ox with Knowledge."

—A. V. IV. 11.

" Lord of the clans, giver of bliss, fiend-slayer,
mighty over the foe,
May Indra, Soma-drinker, go before us, Bull who
brings us peace."

—A. V. I. 21.

" Foodful and much invoked, at this our calling
may the far-reaching Bull grant us wide shelter.
Lord of the bay courses, Indra, bless our children:
harm us not, give us not as prey to others."

—A. V. V. 4-8.

" Thou art the Bull, the Trishtupa's Lord: I hold thee fast.
Happily bear me to the goal of this my Sacrifice. All hail."

—A. V. VI. 48.

" Thou governest the North and eastern regions.
Indra, fiend-slayer, thou destroyest foemen.
Thou hast won all, far as the rivers wander.
Bull, called to help, on our right-hand thou goest."

—A. V. VI. 99.

" Lord of the clan who brings us bliss, fiend-slayer,
queller of the foe,
May he the conqueror, never subdue, may Indra
blind the charm on thee,
Bull, Soma-drinker, he who gives us peace.
May he protect thee round about, by night and day on
every side."

—A. V. VIII. 6.

In later times the Bull came to be associated with Siva, the Supreme male deity of the Hindus.

Serpent Worship.

Of great importance for the religious history of the pre-Aryan Indians is a fayence plaque depicting a deity sitting cross-legged between two serpent votaries, just as they are portrayed worshipping the Buddha in sculptures three thousand years later. There can be no doubt that these snake-hooded people of the Indus valley are one and the same with the Nagas who appear both in history and in folklore and to whom much speculation has been devoted Evidence exists to show that the Nagas were in ancient times a very influ ntial people of the Punjab. They now inhabit the mountainous country bordering upon Kashmir, and particularly in the tract between the Chenab and the Ravi rivers. They worship gods in human form with hoods of serpents forming canopy overhead They are known under various names such as Sesha, Vasuki, Basdeo, or Basak Nag, Taksaka or Takht Nag, Indra Nag (Nohush), etc. They are worshipped neither as dreadful reptiles nor as mere symbols, but as the deified rulers of the an ancient people, whose tribal or rather the racial emblem was the Naga or the hooded serpent and whose chief deity was the Sun for the representation of the Sun occupied a prominent place in almost all the Naga shrines. These demi-gods are also said to be descendants of the Sun and ancestors of the race. The name of the tribe, however,

is not Naga. It is Takha. They are called Naga because they worship the hooded serpents. The Takhas were once a very powerful people of the Panjab. Their chief city was probably Taksashila, Taxila of the Greeks. Taxiles, the king of Taxila, allied himself with Alexander when the latter invaded the Panjab. The name Taxiles is significant. As the King of the Puru tribe has been called Porus so the king of the Takha tribe has been called Taxiles by the Greeks. One of the deified heroes of the Takhas was Takshaka Naga. We are all acquainted with the exploits of the Takshaka Naga from the Mahabharata. The Takhas were a very ancient people. Certain traits in connection with the worship of the Nagas prove their contact with the ancient Egyptians. Thus, the Gaja or the Iron scourge which plays a prominent rôle within the worship of these Naga demi-gods is the exact counterpart of that represented in the hands of the Egyptian Osiris (Khons).

Serpent worship was quite unknown among the Rigvedic Aryans. It first appears as an element of religion in the Yajur-veda. The Atharvaveda contains numerous charms against serpents and a rite of propitiation on the full-moon day of Margashirsha. In the later vedas the serpents were mentioned along with the Gandharvas and others, as a class of semi-divine beings that dwell on earth, and in heaven; and in the Sutras we for the first time come across the Nagas, human beings in appearance, but serpents in reality. In the Hindu period serpent worship is found all over India. Since there is no trace of it in the Rigveda, while it prevails widely among the non-Aryan tribes, the conclusion seems justified that when the Aryans spread over India, the land of serpents, they found the cult diffused among the aborigines and borrowed it from them.

Ficus Religiosa.

That *Ficus religiosa* received veneration in the Indus Valley in the Chalcolithic age is shown by the evidence of one of the

seals. They still receive veneration of various pre-Aryan peoples from Assam to Africa. They are considered as the special abodes of the spirit of the departed men. The Hindus too consider them as the abodes of the departed spirits.

The worship of plants and trees do not play an important part in Vedic ritual and mythology. Meyer lays stress on the fact that Aryan religion pictures the deities as only faintly localised and so unlike other faiths could not develop any strong belief in tree worship. The *Pippala* tree first receives veneration in the Atharvaveda. According to the Taittiriya Samhita the trees Asvattha, Nyagrodha, Udumbura, and Plaksha are the abodes of the Apsaras and Gandharvas. The belief in the presence of spirits in trees is, of course, ethnic, and Buddhist literature has many traces of it, showing the different sets of conceptions which are easily formed; the tree is primarily the spirit, then the spirit with or without its children lives in the trees, and if it perish has to go away, to seek a new abode, while at a further stage the tree becomes more and more remotely connected with the deity. The trees are also the abode of spirits of terrible form and uncanny hostile nature, who may well be of double origin, arising from a direct or animistic conception of the darkness and hostility of the woods and also from the conception of unfriendly spirits which develop from the belief in the hostile spirits of the dead.

In modern Hinduism the Pippala tree is thought to be the dwelling place of the spirits of the dead as well as the abode of the various popular deities, especially deities of fecundity and its boughs are constantly found to be hung with votive offerings by those who desire offsprings.

The Cult of the Dead.

In the disposal of the dead the Indus Valley people of the Chalcolithic age practised burial as well as cremation. It thus disproves the current view that burning of the dead among the

Indians of to-day is an inheritance from Indo-European times. The Indus Valley people of the Chalcolithic age believed that in the spirit world the dead men live a life analogous to the life they have lived here in this world. This is evident from the earthenware vases and other small objects personal to the dead being buried together with the dead. We are also informed that at Harappa certain small brick structures have been found which bear striking resemblance to *Hindu Samadhis.*

Art and Architecture.

In the domain of Art and Architecture, too, the amount of the contribution of the pre-Aryan peoples was also considerable. The prevailing notion that the genius of the Indo-Aryan people was responsible for the mighty structure of Indian art and architecture is utterly erroneous. It is well known that the Indo-Aryans having entered India through the north-west, conquered the indigenous peoples of the Indus Valley whom they either expelled or exterminated. As they advanced eastwards they grew fewer and fewer in number. Hence we find them pursuing a different policy in the midland regions of India. Here they instead of conquering or expelling the original inhabitants, adopted the more prudent or rather the inevitable course of fusing with them, physically as well as culturally, and thus giving birth not only to a mixed race which we find there to-day, but also a hybrid Indo-Aryan-*cum*-pre-Aryan culture, in which the latter element was predominant. As they advanced farther eastward their influence became still more attenuated till in East and South India their influence practically reached a quite negligible point.

It is thus clear that the Indo-Aryan influence was more predominant in the Panjab than in any other part of India. But when we come to analyse the distribution of Indian art, we meet with an order of things which is exactly the reverse of the order we have indicated above, and which thus at once nails to the counter any supposition or assumption to the effect that the

art and architecture of India is of Indo-Aryan origin. If the Indian art were of Indo-Aryan origin then the decorative charm for which Indian art is always noted would have been more apparent in the Panjab than in any other part of India. But that is actually not the case. It is weakest in the north and strongest in the south. In fact, it reaches its culmination in the Madras Presidency, where in the wonderfully decorative sculptures of the Amaravati School, we find the richest, most rhythmical and most imaginative designs. Moreover, the excavations at Taxila have conclusively proved that before the advent of the Greeks there was not existent in the Panjab any School of Art which we might name as forbear of the later Indian School.

Origin of Indian Mandira.

In ancient Mesopotamia the temples of the Sumerians were built upon an artificial mound which they called "mountain." In the northwest corner of Mohenjo-daro has been found an eminence on which perhaps stood the chief temple of the city. We thus find the same conception of religious structures in Sumer as well as in India. They perhaps show that the original temples of these peoples were built upon hills and mountains. Can we not connect the Indian temple with Mount Mandara? The phonetic similarity between the two words is too striking to be ignored.

Round about the chief temple of Mohenjo-daro were grouped structures of a religious or quasi-religious structures. Outstanding among them is an imposing edifice containing a large bath or tank, which may be assumed to have been used either as for ablution purposes in connection with the adjacent temple, or possibly as a reservoir for sacred fish, crocodiles or the like. Thus, sacred tanks for both purposes, which have been a familiar feature in India, were already in use during the chalcolithic age.

ATUL K. SUR

DEATH AND LOVE

I find defect in all I see
And perfect naught I feel;
Within, without the moth of pain
None shows of peace the seal.
Ah! who can tell when at life end,
I lie in Death's embrace;
O Death, wilt Thou grant peaceful sleep
As Thy unconscious grace.
Or, shalt thou banish me from peace
To waken again in pain
I ask and ask no answer comes
All thought all words are vain.
O Love upon my heart descend
And wash and dry all thought
O make me Thine and Thou mine
In Thee life and death are not.

MOHINI MOHAN CHATTERJI

RAJA RAMMOHAN ROY'S "BENGALI GRAMMAR IN THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE"[1]

It has been truly said that Raja Rammohan Roy was "the first all-round reformer of modern India."[2] Every educated Indian now knows that the Raja was not only the pioneer of religious reform in modern India but was also the father of modern Bengali prose. He was certainly the first vernacular writer in India to use the marks of punctuation.[3]

In this article we are concerned with only one aspect of his contributions to his mother tongue, *viz.*, his Bengali Grammar. Referring to the Raja's Bengali Grammar (written in Bengali), his biographer quotes a passage from the introduction in which the Raja says that he undertook the preparation of the book because there was no Bengali Grammar at the time. But Ramgati Nyayaratna speaks of the Raja's grammar as the fifth book of its kind. And, Long's Descriptive Catalogue[4] gives the names of several Bengali grammars published prior to the Raja's publication. The real meaning of the above passage, therefore, seems to be that when the Raja wrote his book[5] other books of the kind had gone out of use. It is a fact that the Raja's Bengali Grammar in Bengali which was published by the School Book Society was the first book of its kind to be widely used in the schools and by private learners of the Bengali language.

This noteworthy Bengali book was, however, mainly a translation of its predecessor in English[6] which is the subject-matter of this article. The Bengali Grammar in the English language by Raja Rammohan Roy is the first attempt to teach

[1] Published in 1826.
[2] Rammohan Roy's English Works, Panini Office (1906).
[3] Raja's Life by N. Chatterjee.
[4] 1855-*Vide* D. C. Sen's Banga-bhasa-o-Sahitya (New Edition).
[5] 1832-*Vide* Long's Catalogue.
[6] Raja's Biography—Chatterjee.

Bengali to foreigners through the medium of a foreign language. It was a brilliant attempt too. The entirely original and eminently practical method in which the subject is treated in the book fully sustains the reputation of this great son of India as a man far ahead of his times. The Raja leaves behind the orthodox pedantic method of treatment of the subject and strikes a new road altogether, converting what would otherwise be a mass of uninteresting profundities into a simple, intelligible and interesting topic. In this respect, his book is on a par with the most up-to-date grammars of continental languages of Europe written on a scientific method for the use of foreigners.

The high motive which prompted the Raja to write a Bengali grammar in English is set forth in the introduction of the book :—

"It is almost impossible for individuals residing in this metropolis to remain unmindful of the persevering exertions of many European philanthropists in the noble attempt to ameliorate the moral condition of its inhabitants. Some of these gentlemen, with a view to familiarise intercourse between themselves and the natives, have undergone much labour in acquiring a thorough knowledge of the vernacular language of the country; while others are diligently seeking access to it without any expectation of deriving useful information or rational entertainment from any work in the language. This tract.....is intended as a humble present for those worthy persons."

Now let us turn to the contents of the book so that the reader may have some idea of its characteristic features.

Orthography.

In the first chapter, section 3," On the sounds of individual letters," the following observations of the author on some letters of the Bengali alphabet are interesting :—

"ঙ. is pronounced like a nasal *o* ; as in ওঙ্কারায় নমো নমঃ Onkaraya numo numuh." [1]

[1] Bengali letters are reproduced here in Devnagri.

"ञ is sounded like a nasal *i*; as ञकर: Inkaruh."

" ं The mark ' ng ' called अनुस्वार is placed among the vowels."

" ः—This mark is also classed among the vowels."

The following apt comments also indicate that the author was not unmindful of what would appear to less cautious writers as mere negligible orthographical crudities :—

" On variations from the regular pronunciations." (p. 8)

" छ by ignorant writers is frequently used to express the sound of *s* in words of foreign origin ; as in मोछलमान पाछा."

" ञ when it forms the first member of a compound with च, छ, ज, झ is sounded like soft *n*, as सञ्चय, वाञ्छा, पिञ्जर, etc. But when it is preceded by ज both of them are pronounced like *gn* with a nasal accent, as in आज्ञा."

" ण is found only in Sanskrit words as before observed." [1]

" य has the sound of *j* in the beginning of words as in यम; as well as in the beginning of syllables, as in अनुयोग. But in all other situations it has precisely the power of the English *y* in *yoke* as in वाक्य."

" श, ष, स—In Sanskrit these three letters are described as possessing distinct sounds. In Bengali, however, with certain exceptions, they are indiscriminately pronounced as *sh* and as indiscriminately written; [2] though for the sake of etymology it were to be wished that orthography in this respect were more attended to."

" क्ष is asserted by grammarians, on etymological grounds, to be a compound of क and ष; but it is pronounced as if formed of ख and य, as in परीक्षा pureekhya."

[1] In Section 2 Chapter I the following occurs :—

"ण, य, व, ष, ऋ, ॠ, ऌ, ॡ ं, ः are found only in words that are originally anskrit."

[2] An interesting comment on the conduct and knowledge of the scribes of the day !

The peculiar practice of reading Bengali words is noted thus :—

"Except in a few cases, in no adjective or noun is the letter অ pronounced at the end of a word, as উত্তম্, সুন্দর্, রাম্, রাম্‌দাস্, কালিদাস্. The mark ্ (হসন্ত) ought to be in these cases. This nicety in writing Bengali is however frequently omitted."

Etymology (Substantives and Attributives).

In treating this matter the author follows the method of European grammarians and he gives the following reasons for doing so :—

"This work is chiefly intended for the use of English students and therefore words are sub-divided according to the system adopted by European grammarians without meaning any preference whatever."

The definition of substantives (of which the Bengali equivalent given is **বিশেষ্য**) as well as that of attributives (**বিশেষণ**) is extremely ingenious and wholly original :—

"A substantive is the name of a subject of which we have a notion, either through our external senses, as Ram, man, or by our internal power of mind, as hope, fear, submission."

In Bengali grammar there is no distinction between a Proper Noun and a Common Noun; neither are there Bengali synonyms for these two English words. The Raja, however, coins very appropriate Bengali words for the purpose :—

"Some nouns are appropriated only to particular individuals, as Ram, Shyam, John and are called Proper Nouns—**ব্যক্তিসংজ্ঞা**; whilst others are applied to a class of individuals when considered as having some general property in common, as **মনুষ্য হস্তী**; or to the classes of individuals of which each class is considered as having some general property distinguishing it from other classes, as **বৃক্ষ, পশু** and are called Common Nouns;—**সামান্য সংজ্ঞা**."

The Raja defines Pronouns as a special class of Substantives and gives an entirely new Bengali name to them :—

"A second class of substantives consists of words which are used to imply particular individuals, though not in themselves significant of any definite object or objects. These are called Pronouns **प्रतिसंज्ञा**."

In this connection the following observations of Whitney will be of interest to the readers :—

"In this universality of their application as dependent upon relative situation merely, and in the consequent capacity of each of them to designate any object which has its own specific name besides, and so, in a manner, to stand for and represent that other name, lies the essential character of the Pronoun. The Hindu title, Sarvanaman, 'name for everything,' 'universal designation,' is therefore more directly and fundamentally characteristic than the one we give them, 'pronoun,'—'standing for a name.'"[1]

Division of Attributives.

The Raja divides Attributes into seven classes :—Adjectives, Verbs, Participles, Adverbs, Prepositions, Conjunctions, Interjections. His definitions and Bengali equivalents for the above terms are worth quoting in full :—

Attributives that "express the properties or circumstances of nouns without relation to time are called Adjectives **गुणात्मक विशेषण** while those that express the attributes (or accidents) of nouns with absolute relation to time are called Verbs—**क्रियात्मक विशेषण**"

"And those that express the circumstances of nouns with regard to time depending on that noted by another verbal attributive are called Participles—**क्रियापेक्ष क्रियात्मक विशेषण**—Ex. **से प्रहार करत वाहिरे गेल**—He went out continually beating."

[1] Historical outlines of English Accidence by Morris revised by Kellner and Bradley.

"Such as express the attributes of other attributives are called Adverbs **विशेषणीय विशेषण**—Ex. **तिनि अत्यन्त मृदु हन**—He is very mild."

"Such as when correctly placed before or after a word express the relation of another attribute or noun to that word are called Prepositions—**सम्बन्धनीय विशेषण**—Ex. **रामेर प्रति**—Towards Ram."

"Such as when placed between sentences express the attribute of copulative or disjunctive relation between the thoughts expressed by those sentences, and when correctly used between words, express their agreement in accident without governing them are called Conjunctions—**समुच्चयार्थ विशेषण**."

But those that express the momentary passions or emotions of the speaker, though uttered alone, are called Interjections **अनुभाव विशेषण**" (The text gives **अनुर्भाव विशेषण**—Is **अनुर्भाव** a printing mistake?).

We thus see that, according to the author, there are altogether nine Parts of Speech, to use the terms of modern English Grammar. These parts of speech are divided under two heads,—(1) Substantives—**विशेष्य**. and (2) Attributives—**विशेषण**. The following table will enable the reader to understand the matter at a glance :—

I. Substantives **विशेष्य**—(1) Nouns—Proper **व्यक्तिसंज्ञा**
—Common **सामान्यसंज्ञा**
(2) Pronouns—**प्रतिसंज्ञा**

II. Attributives (**विशेषण**)
(1) Adjectives **गुणात्मक विशेषण**
(2) Verbs—**क्रियात्मक विशेषण**
(3) Participles—**क्रियापेक्ष क्रियात्मक विशेषण**
(4) Adverbs—**विशेषणीय विशेषण**
(5) Prepositions—**सम्बन्धनीय विशेषण**
(6) Conjunctions—**समुच्चयार्थ विशेषण**
(7) Interjections—**अनुभाव विशेषण**

The above classification of the parts of speech, for example, a verb or a conjunction being classed as an attribute, will certainly appear very odd to those who will judge it by the

principles of classification in the current English and Bengali grammars. By way, therefore, of comparative study, the classification of the parts of speech by Dr. Morris, the famous English philologist, deserves our attention. He divides the parts of speech into five classes :—Nouns Pronouns, Adverbs, Prepositions, and Conjunctions. "Interjections, having no grammatical connection with other words in a sentence, are not, strictly speaking, parts of speech."[1] Nouns include, according to him, adjectives, and verbs [2] Further, English adverbs are at bottom, only Nouns, Adjectives, or Pronouns,—for, "they are derivative forms of Nouns, Adjectives, or Pronouns." Prepositions are things of the same nature—"the oldest prepositions can be traced to pronominal roots ; others are from verbal roots."[3] And conjunctions are "either of pronominal origin or abbreviated forms of expression." So that, roughly speaking, only Nouns, Pronouns, and Adjectives will suffice for parts of speech, according to Morris.

Cases.

The Bengali word **परिणमन**, an entirely novel one, is used by the Raja for the English term 'case.'

He limits the number of cases to four : "In Bengali, cases may be reduced to four—Nominative, Accusative, Locative, Genitive."

The following definitions are indicative of a new view point :—

"The nominative case is that in which a noun stands when coupled with a verb, so that together they convey a meaning though separated from all other words of the sentence expressed or understood."

"The genitive case denotes a noun having a direct or indirect relation to some other noun in the sentence, limiting really or figuratively, the sense of the noun it is related to. As

[1] English Accidence by Morris, Kellner, Bradley.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] Whitney.

रामेर घर Ram's house. The word 'house' is restricted from meaning any house to signify the individual house of Ram."

The following are the reasons why the author dispenses with some of the Bengali cases :—

" As instrumental nouns are generally indicated by prepositions but seldom by their terminations, we may perhaps dispense with an additional case called the instrumental."

"When in expressing an accident one subject is represented as proceeding out of or departing from another, the latter is denoted by the preposition हइते, added to the nominative forms of nouns in the singular number and to the genitive form in the plural—ex. ग्राम हइते। Hence we might perhaps also dispense with the ablative case in the Bengali language."

"When a noun is pronounced with a view of calling, really or figuratively, the attention of the object addressed, the proper of nouns nominative form is used without any inflexion. Ex. हे राम—O Ram. The vocative therefore, as a distinct case, appears unnecessary."

The suggestion made above are surely deserving of careful consideration by Bengali grammarians.

As to the naming of the cases, there is nothing new except that in one place he uses the word उक्त, अभिहित for the English word Nominative.

A Few Other Specialities.

As regards moods, the Raja has his own nomenclature. There are, strictly speaking, no Bengali parallel for what is called " Mood " in English. The Bengali terms he uses are :—

Mode (mood)—प्रकार।

Indicative—अवधारण	Imperative—नियोजन
Subjunctive—संयोजन	Optative— Do.

His Bengali term for Tense is विभक्तिवाच्यकाल. In one place he uses the expression आख्यातिकपद for "verb."

RAMESH CHANDRA BANERJEE

THE HOOVER DOCTRINE

"Above all, I have projected a new doctrine into international affairs, the doctrine that we do not and never will recognise a title to possession of territory gained in violation of peace pacts" (President Hoover's *nomination address* on August, 11, 1932).[1] Some of the fundamental conceptions of International Law have undergone a new orientation since the outbreak of the Great War. According to accepted canons of International Law, war was perfectly legal irrespective of the justness or otherwise of the cause; the rules of International Law concerned themselves in defining the legal incidents of rights and duties arising out of war. During the cataclysm of 1914 to 1919 the best minds on either side of the Atlantic began to devote themselves to a new problem—to remove war from the domain of International Law as a just and lawful act, and thereby to ensure maintenance of perpetual peace. Various rules have been postulated with this end in view, and various treaties and covenants have been entered into. But in spite of them, the world has been startled more than once with the thunder of cannon, and the bursting of bombs; and the recent events in Manchuria and Chaco have once again set the world a-tremble. The Hoover doctrine, therefore, as the latest contribution to the problem of world peace deserves earnest thought and consideration.

It is impossible to appraise the merits of the new doctrine without a just regard to the existing machinery for the preservation of peace. For, any fresh policy that is projected into international affairs that merely perpetuates the incidents and infirmities of the present system is bound in the end to prove of doubtful value and utility.

[1] *The Times*, 12th August, 1932.

When the great statesmen of all nations gathered round the ashes of the old world at Versailles in 1919 all their enthusiasm and hope lay in the creation of the League of Nations that would guarantee future security. They forged Art. 10 into the Covenant of the League to respect and preserve against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all the members of the League, though, as President Wilson stated later, "every Imperialistic influence in Europe was hostile to the embodiment[1] of that article. By Art. 11 any war or threat of war was declared a matter of concern to the whole League, and the League was enjoined to take any action to safeguard the peace of nations after mutual consultation. Art. 12 provided for arbitration or enquiry by Council of the League of any disputes likely to lead to a rupture, and in no case to resort to war until three months after the award of arbitrators or report by the Council. Any party to a dispute that had not been so referred to could submit the matter to the Council by Art. 15 for settlement. Finally by Art. 16 it was stipulated that should any member resort to war in disregard of its covenants it shall *ipso facto* be deemed to have committed an act of war against all other members of the League which hereby undertake immediately to subject it to the severance of all trade or financial regulations, the prohibition of all intercourse between their nationals and the nationals of the covenant-breaking state, and further to protect the covenants of the League by armed forces to be severally contributed by the members.

To all intents and purposes no better provisions could possibly be devised to safeguard the future peace of the world. The weakness of international law had hitherto lain in the difficulty of enforcement of its rules. Here was the covenant heavily loaded with sanctions largely due to the efforts

[1] President Wilson's letter to Senator Hitchcock on 8th March, 1920.—Congressional Record, 66th Congress, Second Session, pp. 4354-4355.

of lacerated France; and the world rejoiced that at last the rule of law was going to reign in international affairs, in form and in substance.

But soon the old order of diplomacy began to assert itself. The United States refused to ratify the Covenant and disowned her President, the principal architect of the League who had striven so nobly and successfully in its cause. The nations of Europe discovered that their commitments to the Covenant were incompatible with their independence and sovereignty. Art. 10 which to President Wilson seemed "to constitute the very backbone of the whole Covenant," and without which "the League would be hardly more than an influential debating society" [1] was sought to be deleted by Canada. It aroused opposition largely from the smaller states. Amendments to the Covenant are a hard process since they require unanimity. Then began the ingenious method of introducing amendments in the guise of interpretative resolutions devitalising the soul and substance of the Covenant. The interpretative resolution to Art. 10 runs: "It is in conformity with the spirit of Art. 10 that in the event of the Council considering it to be its duty to recommend the application of military measures in consequence of an aggression or danger or threat of aggression, the Council shall be bound to take account, more particularly of the geographical situation, and of the special conditions of each State. It is for the constitutional authorities of each State to decide, in reference to the obligation of preserving the independence and the integrity of the territory of members, in what degree the Member is bound to assure the executions of this obligation by employments of its military forces ..." [2] This resolution, due to the opposition of the small voice of Persia stands in the unique position of being recorded as neither adopted nor rejected. Art. 16, the

[1] A History of the Peace Conference, Vol. VI, p. 445.

[2] Records of the Fourth Assembly of the League of Nations, 13th Meeting, pp. 79-80.

sanctions clause, has similarly undergone a change. The International Blockade Committee constituted for the drafting of details for its enforcement recommended, and the Assembly adopted resolutions interpreting Art. 16: "Each State retains the right to decide for itself when a breach of the Covenant has been committed..... The unilateral action of the defaulting State cannot create a state of war. It merely entitles the other members of the League to resort to acts of war."[1] But the greatest anomaly in operating the sanctions under Art. 16 lay in the fact that it was dependent on the declaration by the Council that a resort to war had taken place, a declaration that required for its validity a unanimous vote including the vote of the delinquent. It may be of interest to note in this connection that the proposal of the Blockade Committee to amend the Constitution by excluding the accused from voting in the Council under Art. 16 has been rendered ineffective for want of ratification by the several Members.

The result, therefore, has been lamentable. In few, very few cases where small powers have been engaged in conflict as in the Greek invasion of Bulgaria in the Autumn of 1925, or in minor differences to which a Great Power is a party, the League has been able to intervene with effect. But on many occasions—Vilma and Carfu, not to mention others,—the authority of the League was neither acknowledged nor respected, and the League regrettably proved its impotence.

The necessary consequence was again a search for security, when the nations were faced with the problem of reduction of their armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety under Art. 8 of the Covenant. Everyone recognised that the existing rates of armaments were eating into the vitals of every State. Further, there could be no security without disarmament. But there could be no disarmament

[1] International Blockade Committee's Report. League of Nations, A. 14, 1927, V, pp. 17-21.

without security. Having undermined the foundations of its authority by the interpretative resolutions, the League naturally could not be looked to for security. In 1923 a Treaty of Mutual Assistance was drafted. It was rejected. Then came into being the Geneva Protocol which, in the words of Prof. Raffard, " was an attempt to promote disarmament by creating security, to create security by outlawing war, to enforce the outlawry of war by uniting the world against the would-be aggressor and to base this union of mutual protection upon the fundamental principle of universal compulsory arbitration."[1] But the Geneva Protocol shared no better fate, largely due to the grave objections raised by Great Britain. But the problem was pressing. A series of regional alliances known as the Locarno Agreements were concluded between the States in Central Europe on two basic principles—a guarantee of territorial integrity, and a guaranteed process of arbitration.

The Locarno pacts may have had a distant bearing on the subsequent initiation by Mr. Kellogg of a multi-lateral treaty between the nations of the World, which was formally signed on 27th August, 1928. This treaty called the Briand-Kellogg Pact is a definite landmark in the history of peace. The Covenant of the League, it may be noted, did not altogether interdict war. Apart from war in self-defence, under the Covenant four or even five situations may be imagined in which war is legally possible. But the Kellogg pact renounces war as an instrument of national policy; the High Contracting Parties agree never to seek the settlement of any international dispute among them except by pacific means. War in self-defence is not prohibited by the treaty; but by the interpretative note sent by His Majesty's Government of Great Britain, any interference in " certain regions of the world the welfare and integrity of which constitute a special and vital interest "[2]

[1] Prof. Rappard, International Relations viewed from " Geneva," p. 156.

[2] Cmnd. Paper, 3109, 3153, 1928.

to Britain, presumably Egypt and the Persian Gulf, could be resisted by war by Great Britain in "self-defence" without violating the terms of the treaty. No sanctions were provided in the pact. Mr. Stimson, the American Secretary of State, stated with reference to the pact in 1930: "Its sole sanction lies in the power of public opinion in the countries constituting substantially the entire civilised world whose governments have joined in the Covenant."[1] Many of the signatories to the pact leave it perfectly clear that the terms of the Pact in no way affect their obligations under the Covenant or the Locarno engagements.

Be that as it may, the terms of the Kellogg pact are so wide and far-reaching and definite in outlawing war, that one would have expected it to reinforce the provisions of the League Covenant and thereby lay the foundations of everlasting peace, without again having the necessity of inventing fresh formula and new doctrines. But events have happened which have shown with uncanny clearness the limitations and shortcomings of the present guarantees of safety, and these events have incidentally led to the enunciation of the Hoover doctrine.

Both Japan and China were parties to the Covenant. When Japan invaded Manchuria and violated the territorial integrity of China the League Council and Assembly were in session in Paris. Did the two bodies enforce the solemn obligation of the Covenant? When they assembled the next month, in October, Japan had advanced much further. Japan was ordered to withdraw from Manchuria by December. What happened? Japan advanced further, and occupied the whole of Manchuria. The Council again met; it knew that Japan had not complied with its demands; nevertheless the only thing it did was to send a commission to Manchuria. The Special Assembly that was convoked by China ended

[1] Press Releases, Department of State, Feb. 20th, 1930.

by passing a series of platitudinous resolutions affirming in all but one respect merely the principles of the Covenant.

Japan violated not only the Covenant but also the Kellogg pact at the same time. America, as well as every other signatory to that treaty, knew perfectly well that Japan had resorted to war in defiance of the terms of her solemn engagement. But they did nothing to stop the invasion or check the advance, and when at last Japan had occupied the whole of Manchuria, America sent her note of 7th January, 1932, to both the Powers, embodying therein for the first time the Hoover doctrine which was later grafted into the resolutions of the Special Assembly.

"With the recent military operations about Chinchow," the note ran, "the last remaining administrative authority of the government of the Chinese Republic in Southern Manchuria, as it existed prior to September 18th, 1931, has been destroyed. But in view of the present situation, and of its own rights and obligations therein, the American Government deems it to be its duty to notify both the Imperial Japanese Government and the Government of the Chinese Republic that it cannot admit the legality of any situation *de facto*, nor does it intend to recognise any treaty or agreement entered into between those Governments or agents thereof which may impair treaty rights of the United States or its citizens in China, including those which relate to the sovereignty, the independence or the territorial and administrative integrity of the Republic of China, or the international policy relative to China commonly known as the 'Open door' policy, and that it does not intend to recognise any situation, treaty or agreement which may be brought about by means contrary to the covenants and obligations of the Pact of Paris, of August 27th, 1928, to which treaty both China and Japan as well as the United States are parties."[1]

[1] Records of the Special Session of the Assembly, p. 154.

Manchuria is now the new state of Manchuko with a government set up by Japan.

The Hoover doctrine of non-recognition was again repeated after the forts of Paraguay were captured by Bolivia. It need hardly be added that in spite of the declaration of non-recognition the forts are still in the hands of Bolivia, and hostilities in Chaco have not yet ended.

It is apparent however that by the insistence of that declaration by America on both these occasions, and the adoption of that policy by the League in its resolution in the Special Session on the Sino-Japanese dispute, the doctrine of non-recognition has now been definitely postulated by all the nations of the world as the only active and enforcible sanction behind the Covenant and the Pact of Paris. It is therefore necessary to investigate into the potentialities of this new Doctrine as an effective substitute for the express Sanctions of the Covenant.

Recognition is necessary for a newly-formed State to enable it to enter into diplomatic relations with other States who are already members of the Family of Nations. On recognition the State acquires all the privileges and immunities of international law in the recognising States Non-recognition therefore would imply the withholding of these privileges by the non-recognising State, with the result that there is no official intercourse between the two States. Recognition is of great importance when a new government is formed in an old state by revolution or *coup d'etat.* But when a firm and stable government is established recognition follows as a matter of course. In a world which is beginning to realise the interdependence of nations in modern times, non-recognition might easily prove itself a double-edged policy. Oppenheim says, " The interests of the Old States must suffer quite as much as those of the new State, if recognition is for any length of time refused, and in practice these interests in time enforce either express or implied recognition." [1]

[1] Oppenheim, International Law, Vol. I, pp. 146, 147.

The policy of recognition by the United States has undergone different changes with different Presidents, especially in its relation to the Republics of Central America. Once it depended on the form of the new government; at another on the constitutionality of the means followed in setting up the new government. It is now admitted that "the recognition of a new government is simply an acknowledgment that it exercises the sovereignty of the nation, and speaks and acts for it with authority. If this is the primary meaning of recognition, the origin, form and character of the new government are of secondary importance." [1]

But what is important to notice is that a State is not dependent for its continuance on recognition by other States A State exists whether it is recognised or not. "Much misconception prevails concerning 'Recognition.' As its name implies it is only evidence of the existence of the State or government. It does not create it .. Either a state exists, or it does not exist; the opinions of other people on the subject do not alter the fact." [2]

The Soviet Republic has not been recognised by the United States, presumably because, Mr. Hughes is reported to have stated, of its repudiation of the debts of the old government of Russia. But the Soviet Republic still exists and has official relations with many nations; she is a signatory to the Kellogg pact in spite of non-recognition by the United States and her open recognition by that country is only a matter of time.

Is the Hoover doctrine of greater efficacy in the case of acquisition of territory in breach of the Covenant and the Pact of Paris? Would non-recognition by third States prevent the acquisition of title to occupied territory? International Law recognises subjugation as a mode of acquiring new territory.

[1] American Journal of International Law, 1926, p. 596.

[2] Baty, Canons of International Law, pp. 204, 205.

Such act may give rise to a right of intervention when the balance of power is affected. "But it must be emphasised," says Oppenheim, "that the validity of the title of the subjugating State does not depend upon recognition on the part of other Powers. Nor is a mere protest of a third Power of any legal weight." [1] The same writer is also of opinion that Art. 10 of the Covenant in no way alters this statement of law. [2]

The principle of the law of prescription in private law applies with equal weight to International transactions. A person can acquire a valid title in law to property he has been in adverse possession for the prescribed period of time irrespective of the breach of law committed at the time of occupation or the withholding of recognition by third parties or the aggrieved party; and it would be strange indeed if it were otherwise when the person in possession is an independent sovereign State

The inherent weakness of the Hoover doctrine therefore, lies in this, that the doctrine of non-recognition is essentially a doctrine of inaction. It is passive, without the power of resistance. It seeks to escape actualities by firmly shutting the eyes to their existence. It rests on the foundation that facts could be altered by texts. It takes no consideration that non-recognition in the long run is tantamount to acquiescence.

If it is implicit in the declaration of President Hoover that intervention is a necessary resultant of the doctrine, it would certainly be a different matter. But America had, and every other nation had, that right of intervention irrespective of the doctrine, the moment the territorial integrity of China or Paraguay was violated, and the Covenant and the Treaty broken; and the man in the street would naturally recall the proverbial attempt to close the stable after the

[1] Oppenheim, International Law, Vol. I, pp. 466 and 467.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 467.

horse's flight and ask why President Hoover did not deem it America's duty to exercise the right of intervention before "the last remaining administrative authority of the government of the Chinese Republic in Southern Manchuria" had been destroyed?

The Hoover policy was expounded at length by Mr. Stimson, the Secretary of State, in a dinner speech to the Council of Foreign Relations in New York on 8th Augugt.[1] Referring to the Covenant and the Kellogg pact, Mr. Stimson said they signalised a 'revolution in human thought,' that 'since war between nations was renounced by the signatories of the Briand-Kellogg Treaty, it has become illegal throughout the World." When a conflict occurred, under the former concepts of International Law 'it was usually deemed the concern only of the injured party. The others could only exercise and express a strict neutrality alike towards the injured and the aggressor.....Now under the Covenant and the Briand-Kellogg pact such a conflict became of concern to everybody concerned with the pact. All of the steps taken to enforce the treaty must be judged by the new situation.' Mr. Stimson detailed the action taken by the United States in the Sino-Japanese conflict in maintaining the treaty. Consultation among the nations was implicit. The Amerian policy, he stated, 'combines the readiness to co-operate for peace and justice in the world which Americans have always manifested while at the same time it preserves the independence of judgment and the flexibility of action upon which our people have always insisted." "The American people," he maintained, "are serious in their support and valuation of the treaty. They will not fail to do their share in this endeavour."

To judge that share by the action taken by America so far, the only act apparent to the world hitherto, and claimed

[1] *The Times*, 9th August, 1932.

by Mr. Stimson in his speech, is the formal launching of the doctrine of non-recognition in the note to Japan and China. China has lost Manchuria; that is an accomplished fact; and the doctrine of non-recognition has neither altered that fact nor restored *status quo*.

Mr. Stimson's thesis that there could be no neutral in war after the Covenant and the Treaty has long been recognised. A war in contravention of the Covenant *ipso facto* becomes a war against all. But whenever any such war has broken out, has any Power assumed automatically a state of belligerency, or treated the nationals of the Covenant-breaking State as the nationals of a belligerent State? In the eye of International Law modified by the Covenant, the third States were belligerents; but in fact, and in their dealings, they remained neutrals.

The American Secretary once again referred to public opinion as the sanction behind the pact. If it is intended as anything more than a rhetorical flourish, it conveys but little. Public opinion is a vague undefinable thing, differing with latitudes and longitudes. Innumerable iniquities are still stalking all quarters of the globe despite public opinion. To found any effective sanctions on bare public opinion is to render security against war futile and infructuous.

The difficulties in the way of world peace are more deep and fundamental than are imagined. The framers of the Covenant knew perfectly well when they provided that war in breach of the Covenant was *ipso facto* war against all, that such a war, 'automatically arising out of a condition subsequent' pursuant to the Covenant, was not a war declared by the Constitutional authorities of each nation. This was the chief objection that kept America out of the League. The declaration of war is the sovereign right of each state. Nevertheless the signatories to the Covenant made a semblance of parting with such rights in favour of the League, but very soon they restored to each other in

substance what Mr. Stimson would call 'independence of judgment and flexibility of action,' by means of interpretative resolutions to Art. 10 and Art. 16. It is obvious, however, that a community of Nations that seeks to enforce rules of International Law by collective action cannot at the same time concede freedom of movement to an individual member. "Independence of judgment and flexibility of action" are incompatible with submission to law by a nation or an individual. A breach of the Covenant or the pact should attract automatic, immediate, collective action by the other Powers to render them effective. To vest a discretionary right to a member State to decide for itself the fact of violation of the Covenant, and take such action as it seems fit is to revert back again to the pre-war state. Mr. Stimson claims freedom of action for his own country; he could therefore hardly fail to concede the same to the other Nations. But that certainly does not advance the cause of International Law or International Peace.

With such reservations, the Hoover doctrine, feeble as it is, loses much of its force. As Chief Justice Taft of the Supreme Court of the United States observed in his award in the dispute between Great Britain and Costa Rica in 1923, "acquiescence by all the nations in the world is a condition precedent to considering non-recognition as a postulate of International Law." [1]

The great defect of the Hoover doctrine as a contribution to world peace is that it does not come into operation at the commencement of the outbreak of hostilities and strive to spare the horrors of a war, but is capable of application only at the very end after the war and after conquest. If the world peace has been broken at times, it is not due to lack of doctrines, but the reluctance of the signatories to the Covenant and the Kellogg pact to implement their solemn engagement

[1] American Journal of International Law, Vol. 18, p. 153.

by collective action. Japan or Bolivia may or may not have had grave provocation in resorting to arms. Which State ever had not? It is not the merits of the case, but the indubitable fact of the violation of the Covenant and the pact that is material. There is little difference between those who break the law and those who condone the breach in a network of juridical niceties. If America had stood behind President Wilson, and joined the League of Nations, the machinery for maintenance of peace should have been a real living organism. But so long as nations are not prepared to concede any portion of their sovereignty to the League or forego independence of action in some respects, and implement their covenants and treaties in word and in spirit by action irrespective of interest, the framing of new formulae or projection of new doctrines in International affairs is unlikely to lead to the preservation of world tranquillity.

M. KRISHNAN NAMBYAR

THE RELIGION OF CHRIST AND AFTER

To tell in a few words what was the religion of Christ is to tell that it consisted in the belief in one God and in the love of that God and man. As Christ is believed to be the fullest manifestation of the love of God in humanity, it appears that to him there was one law in the universe, and that law was love, and others were auxiliary to it for implementing its fulfilment. Christ taught that as man could not see God, he by the observance of loving duty to his fellow-men could serve Him and thereby secure "life eternal" or salvation. But let it not be understood that by teaching this he intended, in the least, to belittle or do away with the duty of observing the first commandment of the Judaic Law. He simply desired to impress seriously upon the people around him the propriety of observing its second commandment, which the priests of his time had, in a manner, ignored and trifled with, laying great stress only on the observance of the first commandment by performing the prescribed rites, ceremonials, etc., as man's imperative religious duty. That is, while Chist taught that God could not be served except through the service of man, on the other hand, the priests required that if the believers of Jehova only performed the rituals in the temple and held the customary fasts and gave some alms at times, then they would be able to fulfil their duty before Him. But it appears that in consequence of such a teaching of Christ, so detrimental to the interest of the priests and so contradictory to the established customs of the time, they maliciously set themselves against him and falsely accusing him, before the then Roman governor of the province, as a rebel had him condemned and crucified to death.

Next we find that as in the universe good and evil are concomitant in existence, a generation after the execution of

Christ, one Saul, afterwards called St. Paul, who had persecuted the followers of Christ and put them in prison, suddenly appeared on the scene in a new garb and promulgated a new doctrine, which he termed his "new gospel" by declaring that Christ was a person in the Godhead and that in the belief of this his teaching lay the salvation of man who otherwise would be damned. However, this doctrine of St. Paul was not understood by many at the time as it is not understood now. Thus, we find, that while in the life-time of Christ his teaching was furiously attacked by the priests, after his death his person was elevated to the place of God by St. Paul. Though this doctrine has ever since been disputed by many, yet Christ has been universally loved and adored as the fairest expression of the love of God in his person.

Since St. Paul knew what was the teaching of Christ, his boastful statement that he presented a 'new gospel' for the acceptance of man was a clear declaration that he preached a cardinally different religion from that of Christ. However, we find, as a fact, that if St. Paul's new doctrine had any connection with Christ, it consisted only in raising his person to its imaginary place in the Godhead, while it obliterated the real and more important thing to man, namely, his teaching. While Christ taught that by the observance of the love of God and man, man's salvation would be secured, on the contrary, St. Paul declared that simply by man's belief in the divinity of Christ and as his saviour lay his salvation or everlasting happiness. Thus the outstanding fact remains apparent that St. Paul who, after the death of Christ, at first entered the scene as a staunch ally and champion on behalf of Christ and his followers, later on turned out to be his worst enemy regarding his religion, or in short, while with the one hand he enthroned the person of Christ with God, with the other he deposed him from his legitimate place as a peerless teacher of moral duties to man. But if St. Paul had left Christ alone instead of proceeding to raise him to "The fulness of the

Godhead," he would not have been guilty of lowering the personality of God and also of robbing Christ of the due honour to which he was entitled as the greatest teacher ever sent by God into the world for the moral and spiritual elevation of mankind. So, it appears that the outstanding result of St. Paul's introducing his new theology has not only been a most imprudent challenge to the divinely fragrant religion of Christ, but also by it he has done an immense injury to the world of religion. If it is acknowledged that Christ was a good man, meek, unambitious and purposeful of good to man, and was not swayed by any self-seeking motive like St. Paul, who burnt with the passion of self-love to establish himself as the promulgator of a new theology in the world—an antithesis to that of Christ—let us seriously consider what Christ said about all false teachings, namely, "And now also the axe is laid unto the root of the trees; therefore every tree which bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down and cast into the fire." (Mt. 3.10.)

Howbeit though to some people the Godhead of Christ is at best a theory, yet to many others his place as a supreme teacher of ethics is an actuality in their experience. What we find as a fact is this that the teaching of St. Paul, so glaringly at variance with that of Christ and of all previous teachers of man, but ever since adopted in Christendom, has brought in its wake baneful results which have been manifest in the Christian nations of the world.

However, we find that during the life-time of Christ though the Jewish priests showed bitter animosity to him because they apprehended that their interest would be jeopardized by the preaching of Christ to the effect that the observance of the old rites, ceremonials, etc., was no essential part of their monotheistic religion refined and reformed as it was since the shedding of the new light of revelation upon it, the people at large were attracted towards Christ for they liked to hear him, declaring as he did, that all men even the utmost

sinners seeking the mercy of God would be saved: such good news they had never heard before from any of their priests and rabbis. Thus it is apparent that only for the priests' inability to apprehend the motive of Christ, which was the purification of their religious worship, owing to the absence of their desire to be guided by the knowledge of truth and the fear of loss in their lucrative profession, they became extremely enraged against him and wanted to be avenged upon him.

But as after the execution of Christ their sense of grievance against him disappeared from their minds, they lent little countenance to the new doctrine of St. Paul who, we find, after jealously carrying on a controversy with the learned rabbis of the time for consecutive fifty-two weeks in their synagogue for converting them to his new theology that Christ was also God, and saviour but at last being totally baffled in his attempt, in disgust left Jerusalem to preach his new doctrine in non-Jewish countries.

It may be noted by the reader that St. Paul's doctrine which consisted in the subversion of the religion of Christ, though inculcating his elevation to divinity, cannot properly be called Christianity, or the religion as preached by Christ though it now associated with his name.

In these pages it will be shown that on the evidence that has beamed out here and there in the Christian scriptures, written after the death of Christ, the unbiased student of religion will be convinced that the religion of St. Paul cannot be a divinely constituted institution, and as a matter of fact it has not been able to morally and spiritually uplift its believers during the last two thousand years.

Since the time of Christ down to the present day, there has been a controversy over the question whether Christ must be believed as God or His son like all men.

Belief, which is an attitude of mind, is derived from two sources: either the examination of things which are seen or the intuition of things which are not seen. Now let us

consider whether either by the examination of things which are seen relating to Christ or by the intuition of the things which are not seen but connected with him, he can be believed as God ? If any man believes Christ to be God, who lived as a man amongst men, he will have to prove that his senses have not belied him. But if with a like reason it is contended that the unbelief in Christ as God must also needs be proved :—to such a contention the answer is, that as almost all conclusions of man are arrived at through the testimony of his senses, so why only in the case of Christ will it be rejected ? But if it is agreed that as belief also comes through intuition, why should not Christ be believed as God ? To this the answer is, that such an argument cannot properly be resorted to here for believing him as God, inasmuch as conclusions on the ground of intuition can only be admissible in the belief about the existence of God, who is invisible to and inconceivable by man. But as Christ was born and he lived, worked and died as a man before men, so the functioning of intuition for believing him as God cannot be properly applied in his case. The best that can be said in respect of Christ is this, that as divinity is in every man, so it was also in him, but developed in a far greater measure than in any other man born in the world, and also that no other man besides him has ever been found to be able to help the moral and spiritual advancement of man to the extent and in the manner he has been able to do by his unique life, teaching and character.

The belief of many in the Godhead of Christ, principally based upon his saying, " I and my Father are one " (Jn. 10.30) will be found to be an incorrect notion on their reading his prayer in Jn. 17. 21, where he desired that his disciples might be "one " with God like him, which if interpreted in the sense that they also might be gods cannot but be an absurdity. As in the universe all existences are relative, so there can be nothing absolute and unrelated in it. Thus the relation between God and man must be considered

as one of degree between great and small, and so the Laws of Causation and of Progress working in the universe can be accounted for. And as also many a devotee of God was convinced, as Christ was, that the parts were the individualisations of the whole and the whole was the combination of its parts, so neither the parts nor the whole could exist independently of one another. Thus Christ, as a devotee, realised his existence in God, and God's in him as mutually complementary to each other. From this we can understand why Christ said to his accusers " Ye are gods " (Jn. 10. 34) and also to his disciples that they could do greater works than what he had done. Thus if the final goal of humanity is divinity attained by perfection, it must be by the expression of the " Hidden God " within it; and so if many a devotee of God feeling that he attained perfection thought that he was God, it was not unnatural. Therefore, many a devotee born in different ages and countries thought that if man fulfilled the conception of God within him he would apprehend his true greatness, as for being to be becoming and the made to be its Maker have been the eternal longing of existence. Thus many a devotee has been found to strive to realize what his self is and what are its possibilities and to think that if he could do away with his sense of self as an entity separate from God, he would be as God. And as also many a devotee felt that man's longing for oneness with God and God's desire for oneness with man would not be in vain, but would result to the glory of God and man, Christ's feeling like him was not strange.

It is no wonder, therefore, that Christ was able to recognize the internal affinity that existed between the individual and the Universal Souls and by that their moral harmony, for which God calls man His son and man calls Him his Father. Thus, Christ desiring that his disciples' relation with God might be made closer, as it had become his own with Him, knowing out of what " Rock " they had come,

he was found to pray that they might be as good as their original, by their change of heart, subdued flesh, love of all, or in short, by their lives lived in conformity with the nature of God—a potentiality which, he thought, was in every man like him. It is also to be understood from his teaching that man's attaining oneness with God was meant by him to be his re-birth in the kingdom of heaven or the realization of his inheritance in God. Thus as many a devotee in the East living in the conviction, that he lived in God and God in him, was not uncommonly found to think that he and God were one, so we find that Christ thinking likewise declared: "I and my Father are one." In this we recognize that Christ did but voice the universal instinct which the law of progress, ever active in the universe, has been accomplishing. As in the identification of the self of man with that of God lay the teaching of the mystery of life of Christ—as of all prophets and teachers who had preceded him—so by the word "one" in the above two passages it may be correctly assumed that Christ believed himself to be as one in mind and nature with God and he desired that his disciples might be like him. For the corroboration of the correctness of this interpretation we refer the reader to St. Peter who hoped that the disciples of Christ might be partakers of "divine nature." (2 Pt. 1. 4.)

Christ's disciples, taking up this his highest teaching and believing that he had become one with God, believed him as God. But as a concept cannot be the reality, so Christ did not actually become God ceasing to be Christ. But in vindication of them who thought Christ to be God, it may be said that he in life so greatly expressed himself as God, that they thought him to be so. But though many a devotee of God, specially in the East, was not infrequently found to express such language of mystical experience about himself, which is liable to be interpreted that he really claimed to be God, and though Christ like him, enjoying in the depth of his heart the

closest communion with God, might have spoken of his relation to Him in such language as is found in the fourth Gospel, yet in fairness to him, it must be said that he never permitted men actually to deify him. We find that, on the night just before his arrest by the Roman soldiers, Christ prayed to God that he might be saved from his apprehended death if it was His will, whereby he proved his inferiority to God. For a further corroboration of our statement that Christ never claimed to be equal to God, we refer the reader to the passages in Mt. 19. 17 and Mk. 10. 18 where he will find that he objected to be associated himself with God by men calling him even good, saying that God only was good. Lastly the reader will find that the question was further cleared up by Christ, as when on one occasion, some angry Jews misunderstanding his intention rose to stone him, accusing him saying "Thou being a man makest thyself God," he at once refuted their accusation by saying reprovingly, "Do you mean to tell me, whom the Father consecrated and sent into the world, I am blaspheming, because I said 'I am God's son?" (Jn. 10. 36. Moffat's and Waymouth's translations). Thus on the testimony of Christ himself the reader will be convinced that in diverse places in the Gospels his inferiority to God is established beyond a doubt. So, St. Paul's doctrine about the Godhead of Christ should be brushed aside as having no foundation anywhere except his own imagination from which emanated his new theology.

But as many might still fail to understand the true meaning of Christ's teaching, we find him taking care to graphically expound it by several exquisite parables, which we think will suffice for our purpose to refer to here. These are recounted in the Gospel of Matthew, Chapter 25, namely, those of "Son of man," "The Bridegroom," "The Man travelling into a far country" and "The Last day of judgment" where the words and phrases, namely, "The Son of man," "The Bridgroom," "The man travelling into a far country," and

"The king," cannot imply Christ but God, which will be perceived by any sensible man who has no preconceived notion about Christ.

But Christian theologians have still been found to contend that if Christ was not God, he would not have spoken, at several places, with authority as of God: in refutation of such a contention we aver that such as we have shown before, in fact, the devotees all over the world, specially in the East, have been found subject to such a God-consciousness within them; and for this they must not be slighted or set at naught. For if any man feels divinity within him, which is in itself hard to do, it is harder still, nay impossible, for him to speak of it before others, as we should understand that when one seeks a thing infinitely higher than himself, it is not an ordinary thing which he seeks, but something else, which he has got a vision of, and that vision is for him only who seeks it. So the devotee of God who was not unoften a mystic has sometimes been found to identify himself with God. His God-consciousness was not unnatural, inasmuch as it also came to him in response to God's desire for oneness with him. Thus it must be considered that his sense of God-consciousness sprang purely from his sense of self-negation. So, it was neither blasphemy nor self-exaltation, but was owing to his consuming love for his Adored and humbleness which reduced his self to its Source. Thus man's desire to be unified with divinity, the rapturous theme of poets and prophets, from old ever expressed in mystical words, must be assumed as the echo in his heart of God's call for union with Him. Thus we find that Christ in his feeling of God-consciousness not infrequently thought that his words and acts were not his own but those of God, as in the enthronement of divinity within him his humanity was brought to nought. Therefore, if at times Christ was found to speak and do authoritatively as God, it is not at all to be wondered at.

Also it is not correct to deduce the Godhead of Christ

from his acknowledgment of messiahship before Peter (Mt. 16 7, Mk. 8. 10 and Lk. 9. 21) and his claim to it before the woman at Sycher (Jn. 4. 26) "as a messiah or Christ of God" implied nothing but one who was specially consecrated by God and sent into the world for a special purpose, as was believed by the Jews. he reader will be convinced of the truth of this statement by referring to several other places in Christian Scriptures in which Christ, though a messiah of God, has been found to have asseverated his inferiority to God.

Lastly, let us close the question of Christ's so-called claim to the Godhead, because of his messiahship, by pointing out that as the term messiah meant nothing more than a man who was 'anointed' or appointed by God to declare his will to men at a particular time of their religious history as was believed by the Jews ; so nowhere did he object to the ascription of the term messiah relating to him. We find that Christ himself in his first ministry at the synagogue of Nazareth declared that he was consecrated and commissioned by God for the purpose of preaching the good news of the salvation of all men—even the despairing ones. This question has been found to be made more intelligible by prophet Micah who said that messiahs had been coming into the world for the benefit of men from the earliest times (Mc. 5. 2), a belief also met with in other old religious scriptures of the world. Also we think it will not be out of place here to mention that Daniel in a prophecy regarding the rebuilding of the temple at Jerusalem mystically connected the term messiah with the Persian king who permitted the reconstruction of the edifice. Thus, a messiah of God or Christ should not be believed to be God, but as a "formed" or created thing as we find it indicated in Proverbs, 8. 22. This does away with the theory of the Godship of Christ because of his messiahship at its root.

About the similarity found in the teachings of the messiahs of God in all ages and climes, it is but natural that just

as man is man everywhere, inspite of his colour, whether it be white, yellow or black, so Christ, a messiah of God, like other messiahs who had preceded him, has been found to teach man only one method for the attainment of his salvation or highest happiness, namely, the practice of the love of God and man. Indeed as God is one, His Gospel to be the Gospel for all His children could not have been delivered by Christ in any other terms except as what also other messiahs had taught before him. If he had not done so, then the Gospel of God would have been made a misnomer by him and he would have proved himself to be an unfaithful servant of God. Testifying to his faithfulness in this respect, we find Christ said that he declared to man only what he had heard from God, just as the Buddha said that he had only rediscovered the old way and Confucius said that he only repeated the old truth.

Thus by acknowledging the messiahship of Christ and of others as has been told in diverse scriptures of the world such as the Vedas, Upanishads, Puranas, Gita, Dhammapada, Lotus, Koran, etc., the reader will have to acknowledge that messiahs have appeared many times in the world. But if by the messiahship of Christ he be considered as God, he shall be forced to acknowledge that God has multiplied in the world reducing his conclusion into an absurdity.

It is a pleasure to find that many fair-minded Christians, with many-windowed souls capable of looking in all directions far and wide, as they were anxiously expected by Christ to be "The light of the world," have been found to believe that also the non-Christian scriptures reveal the loving purpose of God towards all his children alike. So they believe that if they lived in obedience to His will, they would be able to secure their ultimate happiness. As the world is ready to believe that Christ was not only a faithful deliverer of God's ambrosial message to man, but that he also showed by his cross that he was a faithful doer of the same, so we find his

disciples after his death, in their day, believing him to be God's accredited messiah, and as such their exemplar (1. Pt. 2.21), hoped that by the observance of their love of God and loving service to their fellow-men, as taught by him, they would be able to attain salvation.

But lest the message of Christ, so short and simple, in which there was no creed or dogmatic formulation whatever, but in which only the observance of love of God and man was made indispensable, be subsequently forgotten, misunderstood or adulterated with any spurious teachings invented by others, he has been found to expound it again and again regarding what he exactly wanted to teach by illustrating it by many impressive parables which for their naive beauty and appositeness stand unparalleled in the didactic literature of the world.

As regards the question whether Christ was *the* son of God or a son of His like His other sons, we find that as St. Paul called Timotheus as his beloved son " begotten " of him through the Gospel of Christ, so when he declared Christ to be the son of God he must have meant that he was no more than " begotten " of the spirit of God. In corroboration of the correctness of this conclusion the reader is referred to his another statement in his Epistle to the Romans, namely, that as man has a dual character, carnal and spiritual, first carnal and afterwards spiritual by attainment, so he declared Christ to be the son of God. But this conception of man's special sonship of God was not a new one, as, before St. Paul, John the Baptist had preached that man had to be born again of the spirit to become fit for salvation. Lastly the question is found to be still more cleared up by St. James who wrote in his Epistle that as " God begat us with the word of truth," so every man so " begotten " was a " son of God." Thus as the son of God was not a *rara avis*, so there need not be made any distinction between *the* son of God and a son of God unless arbitrarily, as speaking reasonably, all men are God's equal sons.

We consider it relevant here to acquaint the reader with the fact that in Oriental countries whenever a man was found to be endowed with some extraordinary gifts far above others in his time and did some remarkable things before the people around him, he automatically became *the* son of God and passing into a higher plane of being was ultimately deified among them. Even at the present time it has been found that this kind of metamorphosis is not an uncommon thing in the East and it accounts for the anthropomorphic narratives met with in its scriptures. Thus no wonder that in course of time, we find, Jesus became *the* son of God, messiah or Christ, and at last "The very God of God."

Religion has been and ever shall be a search for a religion helped by the progressive light of man. It cannot be a day's hallucination like St. Paul's which he would have the world believe. (Acts. 9. 3-7) in attempting to establish his new religion by extirpating the eternal entities, he played with fire; in consequence of which, in the tournament of world's religions, Christianity has fared badly. So the first need of the believer in Christianity is the light to know what he believes and what he ought to believe. Even if Christ is believed to be God, in a moral world under a moral Governor, such a belief in him without the perfection of his life expressed in perfected moral deeds cannot save him and procure his highest happiness. Though religion and science disagree upon many things, yet both agree in this that every existence is an aim and no state is final. The knowledge of truth alone can lead to perfection. In consequence of the radical change brought about in significance of the religious life of man by the promulgation of the new theology of St. Paul doctrinated with the belief in the dogma of the Godhead of Christ as necessary for the salvation of man in substitution of the teaching of Christ, a higher value of life has become not worth striving for, and as a matter of fact, saintship has been

found to be gradually waning in Christendom. Though it is true that the Christian nations have grown in material prosperity more vastly than other peoples of the world, but whose goal is spiritual perfection they cannot be seriously congratulated upon it, inasmuch as in consequence of it their conduct and character have practically deviated from the path that was laid down by Christ for the attainment of their true happiness. As it is certain that man's true happiness cannot be secured except by living out the life as approved by God and lived out by Christ, it will be perceived that the Pauline theology which has, in fact, jettisoned the cardinals of the religion of Christ has impeded the moral and spiritual progress of Christians. But to men whose judgment is not clouded by the bias of sectarianism, it is palpable that the belief in an adherence to the Pauline theology during the last nineteen centuries, in an ever progressive world, has not been able to produce any moral, much less spiritual, superiority over the non-Christian peoples. Beneath the glistering veneer of their vaunted high culture and civilization, the old animal nature, in all its horrid forms, still dominates their lives to the anguish of God, observing which Gladstone, who was no misanthrope and had the opportunity of the experience of men and their affairs for a much longer period than many, said, "The cruelty of Christians is more cruel; the lust of Christians is more lustful; the animal greed of Christians is ten-fold more greedy; and the pre-Christian times afford us no panorama of Mammon-worship to compare for a moment with our own. The luxury and worldliness of old was but child's play in relation to those of modern times."

On a careful perusal of the acts and sayings of Christ, in the Gospels, which have passed as his, it will be evident to the unprejudiced reader that many of them could not have been his, as they are quite inconsistent with and incongruous to his nature, as we have come to know him. They are to be treated as unauthentic and spurious having been unwittingly attributed

to him by their writers when they wrote their books deriving their materials from the various and varying documents they then found before them and the traditions that had then sprung up. Thus it will be seen that, in many of the so-called acts and sayings of his, the racial characteristics of the Jews are clearly apparent, as generally all Orientals are prone to believe in the miraculous relating to him whom they would like to recognize as a being raised far higher than ordinary mortals or as God. In proof of our statement we think it will suffice here to cite only a few instances of these, namely, (*a*) In the Gospel of St. Luke (8. 26-33) Christ's expelling the legion of devils out of the devil-possessed man into a herd of swine which in consequence ran into a lake and were drowned, thereby causing loss perhaps of the whole property of its owner and his livelihood. The mention of the mere exorcism of the devils out of the lunatic would have been a miracle enough for raising Christ above the sphere of ordinary man, but what more we notice here is that the swine which were highly untouchable to the Jews and abhorrent in every respect, being banned in their scriptures as unclean were chosen for destruction by Christ, whereby the racial peculiarity of the Jews was betrayed, otherwise it would not have been thought of as done by him, to whom like God every creature was dear. (*b*) In the Gospel of St. Matthew (21-19) Christ's cursing the fruitless fig tree, which in consequence withered, was not worthy of him who appeared as the manifestation of the long-suffering God of love. (*c*) In the Gospel of St. John (2. 15) Christ's making a scourge of ropes and, being overpowered with anger, striking with it the sellers of the oxen, sheep, doves and other intruders into the temple, was not at all befitting him who was the preacher of the Sermon on the Mount and the peerless teacher of the moral duties of man as were not conceived before by any one, and who said he was "meek and lowly" and taught men saying "Love your enemies, Bless them that curse you; Do

good to them that hate you and pray for them that despitefully use you and persecute you, that ye may be the children of your Father which is in heaven." (*d*) In the Gospel of Luke (22. 36. 38) it is written "Then said he unto them he that hath no sword, let him sell his garment and buy one, and they said Lord, behold here are two swords and he said unto them, it is enough," as if Christ desired the use of the swords against his captors. (*e*) Lastly let us cite here an incident from St. Mark (16. 16) which he put into the mouth of Christ, namely, "Go ye unto all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature; he that believeth and is baptized shall be saved and he that believeth not shall be damned." Let it be seriously considered by the reader whether these acts and sayings attributed to Christ could be genuine, whose teaching was throughout characterized by the absence of creed as its essential feature, and in which not much importance was given to the performance of rites, ceremonials, etc., but the observance of the love of God and of loving service of man? So there is but one conclusion, that either the nature of the men who were responsible for the traditions of that time was culpable or that of the transcribers for interpolating such statements.

In the Gospels of Matthew, Mark and Luke where the incidents of the coming to Christ and enquiring by the young ruler and the two Rabbis about what they should do to obtain eternal life are recorded, we find that in the answers which he gave to each of them, he did not in the least suggest anywhere that belief in him and baptism in his name were to be the conditions of salvation which they sought. If the evangelists believed that the observance of these conditions was absolutely necessary for salvation of man and they wanted to teach and declare it, it is unthinkable that they should cut out or suppress just that portion of the answers of Christ which would best serve their purpose. Also if Christ knew that belief in him and baptism in his name

were necessary for salvation of man, one cannot help impugning his soundness of mind or moral rectitude in his instructing at one place the necessity of belief in him and baptism in his name as the indispensable conditions of salvation and at another uttering not a single word about such a vitally important matter concerning the destiny of man. So, instead of falling into the monstrosity of thinking that Christ could be so, it is proper for us to conclude that the evangelists' statements about his enjoinment regarding the belief in him and baptism in his name for salvation was simply the figment of their imagination and not his authentic statement. Howbeit upon such assertions and like was built up the whole structure of the new theology of St. Paul and promulgated by him which has since been believed in Christendom as its religion. Thus it is apparent that the evangelists have unwittingly combined the real Jesus and the mythical Christ into one man with two characters, so discordant to each other that it has now become most difficult to distinguish between them and arrive at the truth about the original man, whose historic and legendary characters have been made to overlap each other.

But they who would not proceed through the medium of any pre-conceived notions derived from vain traditions and old authority, only are able to arrive at the truth by scrutinizing the authenticity or otherwise of the statements in the Gospels relating to the acts and utterances indiscriminately attributed to Jesus and to Christ. To such men the narratives of the Gospels appear to present a medley of truth and fiction unfit for absolute reliance. The student of Church History knows that in the first century, many years after the death of Christ, when his personality had passed into the domain of legend, and the lustre of his teaching diminished in the apprehension of the generation which had then sprung up, it is in this juncture St. Paul's new theology was preached, and thereafter many accreting inventions began to creep into the religion that was originally preached by Christ and these overran it.

Canon Streeter, in defence of the existence of legends and myths in Christianity, says in his book "Reality," that as art is necessary for enriching and embellishing architecture, painting and poetry for the purpose of effectively working upon the imagination of man, so very properly legends and myths have been resorted to in Christianity for producing a like effect in the minds of its believers. On a psychological ground we are prepared to acknowledge the cogency of Canon Streeter's argument regarding the necessity of legends and myths in Christianity to which we may also add dogmas; but we think it certainly does not become absolutely incumbent upon the believer to take them to be the means to help him in attaining his ultimate objective or salvation. If Canon Streeter, for the purpose of making Christianity acceptable to its entire extent, makes art his refuge and wants men to believe in its myths and legends, etc., or untruths, then one may also urge with equal reason that the idolator can make art his resort for the purpose of facilitating the worship of idols which in his imagination symbolize the object of his worship. However, as knowledge of man is gradually growing *pari passu* with time, it must be acknowledged that his apprehension of truth is becoming more extended and freed from false notions and conceptions about reality. This being so, for one now to say that "as the Fathers have spoken so there is nothing more to know" would but connote that the fountain of truth has become dry, or God has ceased to function. Howbeit the conclusion remains inevitable that he who would not accept truth, as revealed by advanced knowledge and the light of experience, shall suffer.

Truth is a thing which must be sought with an open mind. If the real truth about Christ has been darkened in any mind, there must be some cause for it. He is a good seeker of truth who seeks it with an open mind not knowing what it is and what he will find. But if one seeks with any preconceived ideas about it he will unconsciously be led to something like his previous conception.

Only by studying the different religious scriptures of the world with an unprejudiced mind and comparing the truths disclosed in them with the aid of the light derived from advanced knowledge, the earnest seeker of salvation is enabled to come to right conclusions about the respective claims of different religious beliefs of men and his duty of life. But as God is one Reality, though truths which compose that Reality are many, and as each individual truth cannot represent the whole Reality but is a complement which goes towards completing the fulness of Reality or God, so no truths revealed in any religion should be lightly brushed aside as useless. Just as the body is one and is composed of many cells and as each individual cell is not the body but is indispensable for the making up of the fulness of the body, so truths found in every religion are the indispensable complements for the making up of Reality or God. Thus it is not fair to accept the truths in the Gospels of Christianity only and reject those which are in other religions, as they also like the Gospels of Christianity reveal the purpose of the common Father for the benefit of all His children. So, the serious seeker of truth and salvation is incapable of accepting the representation of the personality of God in three parts according to Pauline theology, as Christ who was a monotheist—and monotheism was the pride of Judaism—has taught saying, " Hear, Oh Israel, God is one " (Dt. 6. 4. and Mk. 12. 29) and as also God has said that He is the Lord, Saviour and Redeemer of men (Is. 49. 26). But though such seeker cannot agree with St. Paul about the question of the Godhead of Christ at any rate he has the satisfaction in believing that he is in the company of Christ as his follower. So it is to be immensely regretted that they who have derived the name of their religion from Christ and avow themselves to be his followers should have afterwards been found to believe in a doctrine which is quite an antithesis of his. Howbeit it is remarkable to notice that barring the dogmatic claim of theologians regarding the Godship of Christ, in all other respects all non-Christian people have

been found to be eager to enjoy the manifold blessings of the religion as preached by Christ, and to adore his transcendent personality which evokes in their hearts the ardent desire to live like him.

All men will agree that the teaching of Christ to seek and know the truth in order that they may be freed from the influence of old tradition, authority and dogma whereby they may advance towards the attainment of a fuller and higher life is of most supreme importance. But, unfortunately, few Christian divines in their writings or ministers from their pulpits have been found to discourse upon it for the benefit of the believers, perhaps thinking that this command of Christ is not of much spiritual importance to their lives. But such a neglect appears to have done an incalculable harm to Christianity, in consequence of which the majestic religion of Christ has been placed at a great disadvantage, compared with the other religions current in the world, where everything is changing for the better under the law of progress and perfection working in the universe. Indeed if religion is to be deemed a living organism, and as in all living organisms the old and decayed cells are incessantly eliminated for the formation of newer cells and bodies, so it will be proper to infer and expect that the genius of Christianity in its life-history will not cease to avail of newer truth for its further perfection. So, every believer of Christianity, as of all other religions, has for himself an indispensable part to perform in its progress, and for this purpose he has for himself to seek and find the truth and act according to it as enjoined by Christ to help the future evolution of his religion, so that he may be liberated from the degenerate influences working over him, as through seeking comes knowledge which leads nearer to the Fountain-head of truth and the development of divinity within him. But we find that as Christ had apprehended that his followers would be subjected to many harmful ecclesiastical innovations after his death, so he anxiously taught that all believers seeking

salvation should ever ascend on the eternal stairs of truth to reach the goal when their oneness with God would be apprehended and their ultimate happiness attained. It is remarkable to find that understanding the importance of knowing further truth the terms 'truth,' 'knowledge' and 'God' are considered equivalent with one another in all religions. So, until the final truth is apprehended and lived, even the most advanced religion will remain a search for truth and will continue to be such till the world becomes fit for salvation when God's scheme regarding the salvation of man will be accomplished. But if, at any time in the life-history of a religion, the means which is calcutated to help its evolution is not used or is hindered in consequence of some false or short-sighted teachings, *e.g.*, that faith has once been fixed for all time and the final truth has been reached, then it, acting like a spoke driven in the wheel of progress of religion, it will lag behind other religions which do not suffer from such a draw-back. So, having regard to the conditions now obtaining in the religion passing under the name of Christ it may be assumed that it is in a crisis. To disbelieve it is to ignore the law of progress working in the universe. So, if the religion of Christ is not to be strangled to death, but to live, some radical modifications have become absolutely necessary in it, in pursuance of the light that has been shed upon man since the death of Christ in regard to its creed or essential ingredients; otherwise it shall cease to be a living entity not in a remote time. After the rectification of the current traditional Christianity it will be placed in the way leading to perfection and thus it will be made adaptable for the acceptance of the world of man ever bound to advance.

It is remarkable that just as Christ taught that the attainment of the knowledge of truth is freedom, so in the Sanskrit scriptures salvation is tersely and intelligibly explained by a single word, namely, *mukti* which means release, it being derived from the verb *mucha* to set free;

and so salvation is there said to be the reinstatement of one in his own antecedent self freed from ignorance of delusion. Thus salvation is the state of the saved or of them who are freed from the baneful results of ignorance or delusion which, causing to live unharmoniously with God, retards man's perfectness which is attainable by the knowledge of truth which is the same as God. So, a saviour is to be understood to be he who helps man to be so saved. But this state can only be attained in a moral universe by man's change of heart and nature, and not by the sacrificial act of another. How man's course of degeneration can change to that of regeneration or salvation, we find, has been graphically illustrated by Christ in his parable of the Prodigal Son. From it the reader learns that a changed life or the acceptance of the real rejecting the counterfeit is man's rebirth in the kingdom of heaven. Christ in the above-named parable taught that salvation was a change of life and thereafter living to "Go, and sin no more" that there may be joy in heaven. So, by Christ's "Go, thou art forgiven, sin no more" to enjoy the grace of God he meant the past is overlooked of him who turns to live a life approved by God. But by this one must not think that Christ either approved or made light of sin, but that taking it in a new light he assured God's grace to all repentant sinners and exhorted them to live a new life better than before. This being so, it is a bugbear of theology which avers that sin is cured by the punishing of an offended God, while on the contrary Christ considered that sin was a disorder of the mind that needed the sympathetic treatment of God as of a doctor. As we are convinced that the essence of the whole teaching of Christ is that not by much practice of devotion nor by much observance of religious rites, but that by one's performance of the duties of life humanity can attain a higher state; or in other words as Christ taught that the perfection of character is the means through which man can near God—

not by decrease of distance between him and God, but by increase of godliness in him, so, it is to be understood that no religious creed, *mantra* or scriptural maxim, nor any rites or ceremonials can nullify the Law of the universe—the Law of Love. No one shall be excused its non-observance who seeks to enjoy the blessing of a perfect life. If it is true that man's spirit internally communicates with God who is Love, the life lived in conformity with His spirit must be the means by which he will be filled with the fulness of God. So, it must be understood that God's plan of the salvation of the world in which every one has a hope, is far higher than the creed of man. Thus, it can be easily understood why Christ prayed that the coming of the Kingdom of God into the world would be by the fulfilment of the will of God among men, but not by that of man. So, it is a pity that instead of treating this beatific character of the teaching of Christ in a spirit of joyful gratitude St. Paul should have unwisely promulgated a doctine that on a belief in Christ as God rested the salvation of man; or in other words while Christ taught that the salvation or the highest happiness of man would be possible only through his perfection, on the contrary St. Paul declared that it would be attained by him by his assumption of a certain *ipse dixit* of his about the personality of Christ which was yet to be proved. Thus, starting with a wrong premise, he naturally arrived at many wrong conclusions, such as, "There is no condemnation to them in Christ," "In Christ we have redemption through his blood," "Christ died for the ungodly," "If thou shalt confess with thy mouth Jesus as Lord, thou shalt be saved," "Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of Law," etc., as if by many wrong conclusions a wrong premise can be made right. But did God really abrogate the old Law by making a new dispensation through Christ, for the salvation of his children as St. Paul would have the world believe? Or is there any enjoinment of God anywhere in the Bible that men must hear and believe St.

Paul as there is about Christ? (Mt. 17.5.) Yet in spite of the clear instruction of Christ that only through the practice of loving service man can save man, unfortunately in the whole so-called Christendom—where Christ is not the imperator nor his religion is its religion, but St. Paul is its imperator and his new theology is its religion—men are blindly led to believe and live in the hope that God will bless them for their belief, which practically does away with the necessity of striving for the perfection of character. If the basis of religion is truth and love—love is the expression of the truth of God,—and its end the perfection of the nature of man, how can such a belief which cuts it at its root elevate and save? Howbeit from infancy the child in every Christian home is taught to believe in it; and in schools, colleges and seminaries the same is taught lest it might be forgotten afterwards; while all along from the time of St. Paul down to the present day, despite the unceasing attempts to explain it by the delivery of countless eloquent sermons and addresses and the publication of heaps of erudite books and essays, the doctrine of a Triune God has remained as inapprehensible as before. But if the child is simply taught to love all, as love is the foundation of morality, and thus if the spirit of love is helped to be cultivated from infancy in his heart, the seed of a real and living faith in significance of life will be sown there from infancy which will make him good and happy in his after-life. Confucius inculcated the golden rule of loving action about 2500 years ago. The Buddha taught the same extending its practice to all living creatures about 2400 years ago. Also Christ preached it as the imperative duty of man, about 2000 years ago embellishing it with such new light as had never been done by anyone before. Thus as the burthen of the teaching of all these prophets and teachers of God and many others from hoary ages has been love so the little one should be taught that as the essence of existence is love, so its perfection can lead humanity to its goal or God who is Love. If this is

done, God will reign in his heart throughout his life and he will be as in heaven, for heaven is where the God of love is and is not a spatial abode somewhere of the people adhering to a particular sect. So, the child should be simply taught that as love is the best expression of the life of God and that as it was best manifested by Christ in his life, so he should try above all to think and act like Christ. This will be more readily understood by him than the doctrine of Trinity and he will be morally and spiritually benefited in life. Men responsible for his well-being should know that intelligence even in the little heart of a child is necessary to salvation and that wrong or indolent thinking is everywhere sinful. That St. Paul's teaching was wrong and he built his religion upon sand is abundantly manifest, inasmuch as we find that while his religion has been waning in the hearts even of Christians that of Christ has gone on adding strength to strength in those of all men.

As God cannot be claimed as the exclusive possession of any particular section of man, He cannot be interned in a citadel unapproachable by all men alike, and as also any man seeking God cannot be confined anywhere unapproachable to Him, whose *magna charta* declared through Christ "Seek and ye shall find" has not been taken away, so, it will be impious to suppose that any man who is not a believer in Pauline theology but seeks God's mercy will be denied it by the Saviour of the world. Man's knowledge of the true nature of God that He loves all His children alike, as Christ has declared, and which has filled the hearts with hope of salvation even of the hopeless ones, cannot be brushed aside by any *dictum* of any post-Christ theology.

All intelligent and unprejudiced men perceive that below the superficial husk of every religion worthy of the name there is in the depth of its kernel "The Hidden God" of love and unity ever engaged in bringing about the consummation of His plan for the salvation of the world, and so they are

full of hope for a better state to dawn in time when man will not rise against man in the name of religion.

When the religion of Christ will be re-established with fuller knowledge and acceptance of truth, it will lead to *mukti*. Then all religions shall merge in one and all men shall know God and rejoice, knowing Him as the only one God and Saviour, Love, Joy, Truth and Reality, the seed of good and salvation and themselves as the complements of His fulness and Co-sharers of His glory.

We have barely touched above upon the fundamentals of Christianity relating to which two-third of the population of the world is at variance with the men who are associated with the name of Christ. On these points the student of Church history finds that even Christian divines, like laymen, have been divided among themselves since the death of Christ. While religion still continued to be a search for truth, all the time her disputing votaries with the zeal of their respective faiths have immolated others and caused themselves to be immolated by them at her altar to the sorrow of God. Howbeit, all Christians and non-Christians can meet together on the one common ground in the fulfilment of the Law of Christ "Do this and live" (Lk. 10.28) for love, peace and good-will among them and thereby they can fulfil the Law of God and observe the Fatherhood of God by observing the brotherhood of man by which they can hallow their Heavenly Father's name and be saved to salvation or everlasting highest happiness.

If it is admitted that a higher and still higher expression of self is necessary for man's perfectness and thence his highest everlasting happiness, then only through his independent thinking he will be led to it. By addicting to vain tradition and old authority, disregarding the fresh light of revelation that has ever been coming into the world of man, no one will be able to advance towards the goal of humanity. The ideal of Pauline Christianity is a Triune God and belief in Him, but that of

the religion of Christ is the only one God and the love of such a God and man. As no man can rise above his ideal, so if the ideal of man be not the love of such a God and man, it will not be possible for him to attain his goal. Only by man's attainment of the knowledge of one true God resulting in his love of God and man, he will be able to attain eternal life, said Christ.

G. C. GHOSH

TO——

For long my thoughtless days impressionless
With spend thrift years of dreaming youth have fled,
And in my thrifty manhood have I shed
Repentant tears of rash and urg'd distress ;
But when I saw thee in dear thankfulness
My heart to Heaven prayed, and soon declared
A slave of thee, and now my cheafest dread
Is that ill fate may wreck thy happiness.
Sweet blushing Rose, bright as a summer day
I yearn to pluck and with my kisses purse
Thee in my burning bosom ! Ah ! Love, say
Not that no wilder hopes I'll never nurse ;
I would my heart were dead, as once it was
To love, than having loved should suffer loss.

JOHN J. PINTO

Reviews

Story of the Past from Newspapers (in Bengali), Vol. I, 1818-1830. Sj. Brajendranath Banerjee, Vangiya Sahitya Parishad, Calcutta, 1339 B.S.—There is a dearth of knowledge about our recent past in comparison with our stock of information even of hoary antiquities. This is extremely surprising when we pause to think of it. On the one hand men's mind turns more to the far distant in time than to the affairs only of yesterday ; on the other hand the materials are getting rare day by day, and newspapers, which were eloquent in their testimony regarding all activities of general interest, have grown inaccessible to the majority of our scholars. The *Sulabh Samachar* in the latter half of the nineteenth century was the cheapest and most popular paper in Bengal in its own day, but it has now practically vanished from our eyes. *Brahmo Public Opinion* was an enlightened organ of advanced thought patronised by advocates of reform; that, too, has disappeared.

Sj. Banerjee has been diligent in his search for newspapers in the nineteenth century, and extracts from them published by him from time to time in Bengali monthlies have been always a delightful reading. He has now come forward and presented such records from the *Sumachar Darpan* and the *Vagnadut*, under the auspices of the Vangīya Sāhitya Parishad, with an introduction, an index, and occasional notes which are brief and relevant. The items have been grouped so as to treat of educational, literary, religious, social and other spheres of life and activity. The first volume, just published, covers the years from 1818 to 1830, and contains interesting materials for the study of history of the period.

Such a book as this, lighting up many a dark corner, removes a long-felt need and supplies the student of history of nineteenth century Bengal with authentic facts in a permanent form. In its conception, the work is original and both the editor and the Vangīya Sāhitya Parishad are to be congratulated for bringing out the volume; there is a *facsimile* reproduction of one page from the *Darpan*, and two-coloured reproductions of a Bengali woman and a Bengali overseer (taken from an English book, published in 1850) in their habit as they lived a hundred years ago.

The get-up is sober; the price is comparatively cheap, ranging from Rs. 2 to Rs. 2-4 for members of the Parishad and outsiders. We look forward to the next volume with expectations which, we are sure, will be realised.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

Annals of the Parish. John Galt, T. Nelson & Sons, Ltd. 280 pp.

This is a handy reprint of Galt's book, well-known to students of English literature, written more than a hundred years ago, and important both as a *Vicar of Wakefield* transplanted to Scotland and also as a record of social life during the reign of George III. The clear type, the excellent get-up, the cheap price and the attached glossary of difficult Scottish words, are all recommendations in its favour and make its inclusion in the series a matter for general satisfaction.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

Behold the man. Prof. Dwijadas Datta, M.A., A.R.A.C. (Cirencester), 289 pp. Re. 1-8.

This is a controversial book, written explicitly for the purpose of placing Keshub Chunder Sen in, what the author would say, the proper perspective, so that we may ' behold the man ' and appreciate the significance of his work. The author, who is a scholar and a man of piety, records it as a 'confession,' because he had joined the band of Keshub's detractors, and veered round only after he had seen the error of his ways. Of the six chapters in which the book is divided, the first traces the growth of the Brahmo Samaj under the three leaders, but, great as Keshub undoubtedly is, it is not fair to Rammohan to consider him merely as the 'grand-father' of the Samaj ; Prof. Datta himself admits that he had sowed the seed, had laid the foundation of the edifice. After all, what do such terms matter as ' father ' or ' grand-father ' of a movement ? It does not look very well to insist on " the one non-dual Para-Brahma " (p. 9), because the worshippers of this one God presuppose the duality of God and his devotee. Does the term *one* imply *advaita* ? It is a matter for regret that the author speaks bitterly of Rammohan and Devendranath in order to eulogise Keshub Chunder, whose great piety, excellent character and inspired moments are facts and do not need any elaborate argument to

stand upon ; but the reader will be compensated for his pains in going through an account of controversy, now laid in dust, in the glimpses into the life and activity of the great man that Keshub undoubtedly was.

The book in its running comments on the great split in the Samaj tries to discuss the limits of democracy; this has its application beyond the immediate range of the constitution of a religious society. The safeguards of democracy in the state are now engaging the attention of thinkers all over the world, and it is reasonable to admit that democracy itself has its superstition. But, then, where do we stand?

The Brahmo Samaj. (A short history.) Manilal C. Parekh, B.A., Rajkot, Kathiawad. 287 pp. Board Rs. 3, Cloth Rs. 4.

This opportune publication appeared on the occasion of the centenary of the Samaj by one who had been a missionary in its ranks, and who, though now belonging to the Orthodox Christian Church, has retained his old love for the organisation to which, he admits, his spiritual advancement had owed so much. The evolution of the Brahmo Samaj is an interesting and instructive study, throwing light as it does on nineteenth century India from so many points of view. The thirteen chapters into which the book is divided trace the rise of the Samaj from the Brahmo Sabha to the Church of the New Dispensation, describe the various contributions made from time to time by the Rajarshi, the Maharshi and the Brahmarshi, and wind up with an account of organisations in the different provinces of India started on the lines of the Samaj, with a forecast about the future. Altogether it is an admirable sketch, and what is wrong is the author's interpretation and estimate of the emphasis on Christ in Keshub's scheme of religion.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

Philosophy of Hindu Sādhanā.—By Nalinikanta Brahma, M.A., Ph.D. Published by Kegan Paul, Trübner & Co., London.

The book is a valuable contribution to, and a presentation of, the practical side of Hindu Philosophy and will prove of immense value to those who set any importance on spiritual life and ought to be carefully read and re-read by all interested in the Religious Culture of India. The author has a nice, lucid style and has presented the subject in an attractive manner. His apt quotations from various sources, the great enthusiasm and devotion he has introduced into his discussions of various problems

and above all his masterly arrangement are calculated to make the work a creditable production. Various problems are here analysed and interpreted and valuable suggestions are given for their solution. A book of this kind, remarkable as it is for its intrinsic merits as well as for originality of thought, is of utmost value at the present time of degeneration and want of faith. The author has, as he himself tells us, opportunities of moving with men of orthodox type of culture which he has not failed to utilise most profitably in his discussions, and throughout the book we find facts have been gathered with utmost care and presented after a thorough scrutiny. The work is eloquent of the deep erudition of the author and patient labour and it is difficult to select any one chapter as deserving of particular mention. We would here give a few samples of his interpretations.

Ordinary knowledge depends on some condition outside it which constitutes its object. Knowledge implies the acquiring or grasping by the subject of something that is *other* than itself. In sense-impression its outside reference is prominent. An idea seems nearer to us, still here also, it makes its appearance before the subject. Unconditionality of knowledge involves complete annihilation of this 'otherness' of the object, knowledge must depend on nothing else. The Sruti declares that the self is self-luminosity and it is its own light. The self requires no 'other' for its revelation but is its own light, because, as Citshukhāchāryya remarks, the *ātman* is of the nature of consciousness (Cit), and because it is never the object. If, the author shows, it is seen that the subject depends on the object, that would prove that neither the subject nor the object is the revealer, but both of these depend on something else for their revelation. The Vedantic epistemology establishes the self-revealing character of knowledge and points out that while in other instances of knowledge this character is not evident because of its connection with objects, it becomes clear to us when Brahma which is pure knowledge itself is realised. It is only in the highest state of সমাধি or in অপরোক্ষানুভূতি—direct intuition—that knowledge is revealed in its true character without the medium of any instrument or process. Vedanta does not deny there is a 'givenness' in knowledge which implies an outward reference but only points out that the real knowledge is attained when this 'otherness' is transcended. But how to realise this ideal of knowledge?

The finite human being has an element of divinity inherent in him. The course of সাধনা is a history of the growth of the individual from the condition of little knowledge to omniscience, from a state of little energy to omnipotence, from finiteness to infinitude. In short, the gradual

unfolding of the latent capacities of man in the direction of knowledge, power and holiness is the aim and purpose of সাধনা. Through a progressive process of discipline, *matter* which is an eject or reflex of the spirit and which has entangled the spirit must be conquered and incorporated and absorbed again. Man alone can regard matter and its process as his ideas and thus transcends them. সাধনা, the author says, becomes completed when no matter, no foreign element, no 'other' (অন্যত্ব) remains as an unresolved contradiction or opposition.

The value of having a disciplined mind and body can never be overestimated. As the spirit is embodied in the human form, its growth presupposes a similar development of the body also. The growth of divinity presupposes the elimination of the animal element. The higher self shows its contrast with the lower; it reveals a spiritual nature that is inconsistent with the claims and realisation of the lower animal self and consequently demands a purification of the latter. The wayward lower self, accustomed to submit to the demands of impulses and passions must be gradually controlled through regulated action. When the changing vicissitudes of life do not affect and move the self and are recognised as merely passing phases of empirical consciousness, then is established the higher stage in the life of control It is the lower nature which is responsible for all division and difference The pure self is all-pervading and free from all changes and therefore the same everywhere. The self feels that lower nature is no part of itself and is different from it, and this isolation of the higher self and corresponding elimination of the lower lead to সমদর্শন. The surface-consciousness is an outward expression, an imperfect image of or superimposition on the ভূমা-self—the vast region of consciousness lying behind the superficial states of consciousness (which is abundantly proved by phenomena of clairvoyance, thought-transference, hypnosis, etc.). Division, distinction, specialisation characterise surface-consciousness and yield us only partial views of things. সাধনা has for its goal a spiritual experience which is not a partial or one-sided realisation of the intellect, feeling or will, but is the realisation of the entire individual, when the divergent elements of surface-consciousness harmoniously blend into a synthetic whole and re-unite into the original bond out of which they seemed to emanate.

Then after describing the negative and the positive aspects of সাধনা and showing their bearing on each of the 3 forms, *viz.*, জ্ঞান, কর্ম্ম or যোগ and ভক্তি-forms of সাধনা, the author concludes his first part with a brief historical account of the evolution of the different forms which however need not detain us here.

In the second part of the work, the first two chapters are devoted to a discussion of কর্ম্ম—one of the three great forms of সাধনা. A man is purified in mind and body, and this purification comes through the performance of Karma alone and exercise of organs and faculties. Karma, Bhakti and Jnāna are not to be regarded as *independent* forms of সাধনা so that only one of them is sufficient for the attainment of the goal. These three are connected with one another and the co-operation of all of them is necessary. A Karma-jogi necessarily becomes a Bhakta and a Jnāni at a certain stage of his development. Similar is the case with the Bhakta and the Jnāni. The natural aptitude determines the particular line of সাধনা for a সাধক, but this particular line is merely an occasion or the support for the development of all the different aspects. Action implies desire as its source and desire involves অবিদ্যা or false superimposition on the nature of the self. So long as the real nature of the self is not veiled and there is not the imposition of the attributes of the not-self on the self, no desire can arise and hence there cannot be any action. By Karma, Sankara means actions that proceed from desire and not bodily activities. Sankara has taught the incompatibility of জ্ঞান and কর্ম্ম, only when জ্ঞান has been reached and not before that stage. Brahma-Jnāna implies a state where the division into Subject and Object and the relation between the two has disappeared. No action can proceed from a man who has identified his whole being with that self which is certainly not the *agent*. This is described by the word কেবল, *i.e.*, motionless and changeless. This main teaching of Sankara has too often been misunderstood and misinterpreted. He means nothing else than that the notion of the *agency* of the self implied in অবিদ্যা and কর্ম্ম cannot exist simultaneously with the notion of *non-agency* implied in Jnāna. Hence there cannot be any বিধি or compulsion for a Janāni and that nothing *binds* him which marks an important characteristic of the liberated soul. The individual consciousness of the Jnāni becomes *identified* with the cosmic consciousness (ব্রহ্মবিদ্ becomes ব্রহ্ম), and his actions are no longer controlled by the individual centre but are directed by the cosmic consciousness, and hence actions are not now performed with the touch of desire or the working of the individual will. Here the author finds fault with Tialka's interpretation in the Gita where he points out that Karma *must* be done by *all* at *all* stages. But for this contention we refer the reader to the book itself.

Our author concludes this chapter by pointing out two misinterpretations. The Vedanta, as is well known, distinguishes a sphere of supra-moral, transcendent spiritual experience for a Jnāni when he is absorbed in the Absolute and finds the Absolute in all, from the sphere of moral actions,

actions done from a sense of duty based on a consciousness of '*ought*' and 'should' implying an ideal lying at a distance from the progress attained. This is a sphere where *moral distinctions* can have no meaning for a Jnāni. This transcendence of moral distinctions has been misinterpreted by some Western scholars who interpret this to mean that a Jnāni may perform any action he likes—good or bad; that he has not to obey moral laws. The author has done well to call the attention of the readers to this misunderstanding on the part of the Western scholars. But in this connection the author refers to another misinterpretation of many Indian scholars who, the author thinks, hold that "the Vedanta nowhere teaches the transcendence of moral distinctions" and the author, we regret to observe has in this connection referred, in a footnote at page 114, to the "Adwaita-vāda"—a book written by the writer of this review. The view ascribed to the writer by the author is evidently wrong. We would refer the author to page 176 of the *first edition* of *Advaita-vada* * where the following view occurs:—

"When an aspirant has already attained the self-knowledge, has reached the final goal, no further need arises for him to perform any kind of work lower or higher. For, when the man has attained the transcendental goal (ব্রহ্মাত্মভাবঃ) all his duties have reached their fulfilment, no further work remains to be done, etc."

In the two following chapters where জ্ঞান-line of সাধনা finds an elaborate discussion it may be regarded as the most brilliant contribution of the author. The author first shows the distinguishing characteristics of the relational knowledge and the direct non-relational knowledge which is the ideal. Thought (intellect)[†] ways proceeds through relations and studies reality from a distance. Knowledge is a relation between the self and an object forming the not-self. Self-consciousness is the realisation of the self as it is related to its own ideas. For thought, the division of reality into a 'that' and a 'what,' an 'existence' and a 'content' is essential and as the intellect can never transcend this dualism, it fails to give us knowledge of reality, and thought is never the thing itself but is *of* it and *about* it. Meditation and concentration (ধ্যান and ধারণা) lead to absorption (সমাধি) and in this stage, প্রজ্ঞা (Intuition) results. The subject here rises to the level of the object which becomes completely revealed. This is what পতঞ্জলি describes as তদঞ্জনতা. Discursive knowledge yields partial view of things,

* *Vide* also p. 227 of the *Secand edition.*

† *Cf.* Sankara in—'তৈত্তিরীয় ভাষ্য,—"কিমন্নাদাদিবৎ পর্য্যয়েন ? নেত্যাহ। যুগপদেব একক্ষণোপারূঢ়ানেব একয়া উপলব্ধ্যা।"

but intuition gives us knowledge of the whole, and involves a simultaneous and synthetic presentation of the order of things, as distinct from successive and an analytical presentation of the intellect. In intuition, the presentation is not gradual and successive but all at once, an aspect of totality and eternity.† There is a gap between idea and fact, conceptual and real, which the intellect fails to bridge over and therefore can never give us অপরোক্ষ, that is immediate, apprehension of reality.

The author here very ingenuously draws a distinction between Bergson's intuition and the Vedantic অপরোক্ষানুভূতি of the self. In Bergson, a sort of relativity remains—the memories and the living experience forming the *concrete* life of the individual. It is like Royce's 'appreciation' involving a cognition of the object. But the intuition is neither the cognition of the object or of the subject but transcends both. It is not a 'suicidal step' taken by Vedanta in implying ত্রিপুটীলয় involved in ordinary knowledge. It is a স্বয়ংপ্রকাশ জ্ঞান—not residing in the subject nor is conditioned by any object, but resting in its own মহিমা (ছান্দোগ্য). Its objectivity is denied, for what is cognised is জড় and its subjectivity is emphasised by saying that—" বিজ্ঞাতারমরে কেন বিজানীয়াৎ."

But this even is transcended. When the not-self is merged in the self there is no longer the subject, It reveals as pure চিৎ. In knowing the self, the self enters in the knowledge itself—knowledge and self are identical. The question of knowledge of this knowledge does not arise at all, because neither the conception of a self-division into a subject and object nor of another mind of which the mind can form an object is binding on us as from the empirical point of view. To be aware of awareness which is the self is just to live the awareness—to 'enjoy' itself, in its own act, as Alexander holds. But 'contemplation' of not-self and 'enjoyment of self' seem to be distinct entities *with* Alexander. Not-self is an entity distinct from the self and is thus not to be supposed as coming out of the self through self-division. But in Vedanta the slightest trace of the consciousness of not-self is the greatest hindrance to self-realisation and nothing forms the ' other ' (অন্যত্ববোধ) to the self of the Vedanta. The self cannot be conscious of its existence as a distinct entity by the side of the object—the self being indivisible prius of all, subject and object-consciousness, and for which there is no division. In Vedanta, want of self-division proves the falsity of all appearance in the shape of the object and of all objective cognition. Sankara opposes self-division (স্বগতভেদ) and maintains that the object is no part of the self and hence it is only a superimposition, (বিবর্ত্ত), on the self. ' Appreciation ' of Royce is the realisation of a thing exactly as it

is a part of one's own experience unlike ' description.' It is a স্বরূপজ্ঞান—a knowledge of a thing by being it ; by identifying the inner life, of one with the inner life of another. In অপরোক্ষানুভূতি of Sankara. জগৎ—a source of multiplicity disappears altogether—not-self even in the form of ideas which are regarded as detached existence from the self which seem to come out of the self and therefore are distinct from the self. Here there is no externality, no outwardness, no self-division of the self into itself and its ideas as the not-self—although the not-self is still nothing outside the circle of self. বিবেকখ্যাতি is the highest form of knowledge according to the Yoga and Sankhya. The self is here perceived as different from the not-self. নির্বিকল্প-form is at best a withdrawal, a merging into the self. The Universe remains as a real not-self which a self can withdraw from, but cannot resolve into itself. But in Vedanta, the not-self is resolved into the self and nothing but the self is real. This portion of the book containing a comparative study hinted above will repay a careful perusal.

Karma leads to জ্ঞান and it is জ্ঞান that directly leads to Salvation.

Very valuable reply is suggested by the author towards the close of this chapter to the objections raised by various teachers as to how, when Brahma-jnāna arises which removes ignorance, can the body which is the effect of ignorance as its material cause, persist as in the case of a জীবন্মুক্ত. How can the world exist even after the realisation of Brahma ? How can the effect in the form of Samskāra of Avidya remain after the complete destruction of its material cause (ignorance) ? To avoid this difficulty there are certain Vedantic teachers who deny the existence of জীবন্মুক্ত ; they justify only the বিদেহ-মুক্তি.

The author attempts here to give his own solution by pointing out that knowledge and ignorance are not incompatibles. Knowledge here is not the বৃত্তি-জ্ঞান but transcendental, and therefore is not opposed to ignorance but its substratum. Pure *chit* is the আশ্রয় of both empirical states of knowledge and ignorance—" I know " and " I do not know. " Transcendental knowledge and ignorance belong to different orders of reality. The world forms no ' other ' to Brahma and there is no incompatibility in the simultaneous presence of both. Brahma transcends the world and hence they are not reals of the same order. The world, after ব্রহ্মজ্ঞান, remains as it was, only the previous erroneous conception of it as real is now supplanted by the conception of it as অনির্বাচ্য—superimposition on Brahma. The world is not ' transmuted,' as Bradley holds, to form an element in Brahma.

The next chapter deals with the various means to attain knowledge.

Chapters XI and XII deal with the Bhakti-form of Sadhan and Chapter XIII describes the Tantric form of Sādhan. In dealing with the value of মন্ত্র, the author very ingeniously explains the four well-known forms of Sabda. ধ্বনি, he says, represents the primal vibrations that cause the Universe. The Hindu Ṛsis, the author remarks, discovered the great energy which is the source of creation and নাদ, প্রাণ, শব্দ—are only synonyms for that cosmic energy. This নাদ, as vibration, is the source of the Universe and, as illumination, is also conscious. The Hindus attempted to realise the subtle form of the Nāda through the gross one, and to reach illumination by generating the corresponding vibration. The recitation of *Mantras* aims at awakening illumination through vibration. *Cit* and *Sabda*, illumination and vibration, represent two parallel aspects of the same thing. The external things and their shapes are materialised forms of vibrations and in them the *cit* becomes more latent and hidden. The efficacy of Nāda-shādhana, observes the author, cannot be overestimated and it is the invaluable discovery, he thinks, of the Tantras and their priceless gift to the world.

ভক্তিমার্গ and জ্ঞানমার্গ are thus broadly distinguished. In the realisation of God, ভক্তিমার্গ emphasises the object-factor in consciousness and জ্ঞানমার্গ the subject-factor. In a ভক্ত, the object occupies his whole mental horizon and the subject has no consciousness as distinct from the object-consciousness. The object—the infinite কৃষ্ণ—devours the finite subject. Psychologically, if the object is interesting beyond measure, the subject forgets himself altogether and loses himself in the object. In the জ্ঞানমার্গ, or যোগমার্গ, we are to intensify the powers of the subject to realise it. Rise up gradually beyond object, beyond চিত্ত, অহঙ্কার; try to realise fully developed self—the subject or পরমাত্মা—where no object, not even সাক্ষি-বৃত্তি should come. The infinite is expressed in and through the subject and the object. যোগ intensifies the subject and all duality disappears.

জ্ঞানমার্গ is rather not entirely subjective, but as both subjective and objective. It is the *synthesis* of opposed, partial theories. Absolute is the reality where the subject and the object merge themselves in the Absolute. Transcendence implies both the withdrawal from the object নেতি, নেতি and expansion—for the self is not opposed to and does not exclude any thing. The self alone is real because everything is the self (সর্ব্বং খল্বিদং ব্রহ্ম). The self pervades and under-lies all appearances of the objects—(the self—the locus and the object—the products of the kinetic avidya). Brahma *transcends*, at the same time reconciles and

includes within itself all subject and object—does not exclude anything ; it is everything but nothing in particular—subject and object.*

The last chapter of the book closes with a brilliant exposition of the synthesis worked out by গীতা. But we must stop here, referring the reader to the book itself.

We regret that want of space prevents us from doing full justice to the topics described and explained in this valuable work. The author in his work has traversed through an extensive field and has put forth his best critical and constructive effort and has earned the gratitude of all lovers of philosophy by bringing out a comprehensive work on a subject very little known even among scholars, for which the author is so eminently qualified. We heartily congratulate Dr. Brahma for the very valuable contribution he has made to the Indian Philosophical literature in its practical aspect which is generally most neglected.

KOKILESWAR SASTRI.

Neo-Hinduism.—By D. V. Athalye. Published by Taraporewala Sons & Co., Bombay.

The book is meant to give in a single handy volume an exposition of the teachings of Swamy Vivekananda which can be gathered from all his public speeches and writings. The author has earned the gratitude of the learned world in giving them an opportunity to read a concise account of Vivekananda's interpretation of Vedantism and Joga Philosophy. The work reflects great credit on the patient labour and enthusiasm of the author which he has thrown into his production in faithfully representing all which is valuable and worth knowing, within a compass of 220 pages under ten convenient chapters, four of which contains accounts of Bhakti, Jnāna, Karma, and Raja-Jogas. We quote here a few lines from the chapter on Raja-Joga :—

"The field of reason or of the conscious working of the mind is narrow and limited. There is a little circle within which human reason must move. It cannot go beyond. Yet it is beyond this circle of reason that there lies all that humanity holds most dear. All those questions, whether there is an immortal soul, whether there is a God, whether there is a supreme intelligence guiding the universe, are beyond the field of reason. All that is good or great in human nature have been moulded upon answers that have come from beyond the circle. It is really beyond the intellect

* "কার্য্যস্য পরিচ্ছিন্নস্য, কার্য্যান্তরেষ্বপি বর্ত্তমানেন কারণ-ধর্ম্মেণ সম্বন্ধাভাবাৎ"—সংক্ষেপ-শারীরক।

that the first state of religious life is to be found. When you step beyond thought and intellect and all reasoning, then you have made the first step towards God and that is the beginning of life. It is experience of the superconscious."

We heartily recommend this work to all lovers of religion.

KOKILESWAR SASTRI

Vedic Studies.—By A. Venkatasubbiah.—Printed at Mysore ; Vol. I, only.

This is a neatly printed work containing 14 Rig-Vedic words, such as Nitya, Svasara, Arati and others. The book bears evident marks of patient industry and extensive study of the Vedas by the author. These are some of the most obscure and difficult words doubtful in their sense. The author has sought to arrive at the correct meaning of these words by a careful comparison of other Vedic passages where the words occur. Extensive quotations of hymns and passages from the Rig-Veda have been made with a view to show by a study of the contexts if the sense of the words suggested by the author agrees with that of the words employed in those other contexts. It need hardly be pointed out that this method of working on a particular word would necessarily produce the desired end and the chances of mistake would be minimised. The author is an intelligent and laborious student of the Vedas and he has brought enthusiasm and industry and single-minded devotion to bear upon his study. Such deep and patient scholarly acumen is very rare now-a-days and we hope that his labour will throw much light upon many an obscure passage and word of the Rig-Veda which will smooth down the thorny path of Vedic study. We admire the learning of the author whose rich wealth adorns almost every page of his work.

KOKILESWAR SASTRI

Ourselves

It is with deep grief that we record our sense of the country's real loss due to the sudden death at Ranchi on the 30th of October last of Sir Ali Imam, the well-known representative of a noble Moslem family of Patna who for many years creditably upheld the high tradition of culture and service to the cause of the country of that renowned Syed family by his noble ideals, high attainments, spotless character, advanced liberal views and a glorious record of service in various spheres. The late Sir Ali Imam rose to high eminence in his profession as a leading counsel of the Patna Bar and held responsible positions as Legal Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, Judge of the High Court of Patna, first President of the Executive Council of the Nizam of Hyderabad and the representative of India at the first meeting of the League of Nations. He rendered signal service to the cause of education, specially as a champion of Moslem education and in recognition of his abilities was nominated in 1909 a Fellow of the University of Calcutta. He was also elected as a trustee of the Aligarh College in 1903 to the funds of which institution his contributions were generous. He was honoured by nomination in 1910 to the Presidentship of the Amritsar session of the all-Indian Moslem League which decidedly proves that he fully enjoyed the confidence and esteem of his coreligionists yet he had the courage of his convictions to utter sentiments which every true patriot and sober nationalist should cherish dearly in his heart to-day. "English education has given," he wisely observed, "Indians a common language, common aspiration and common patriotism and it was possible for the Mahomedans and the Hindus to work together for the development of India united among themselves and united to Britain." He foresaw

the great danger to India as a whole from rampant sectarian aggressiveness and laid down the sound principle that "Mahomedans should be Indian first and Mahomedans afterwards", exactly as "the Hindus should be Indians first and Hindus afterwards." His liberal and progressive political outlook and his broad-mindedness easily won for him the love and respect of all sections of the people of India who will, we are sure, strongly feel his loss at a time when sober and sound statesmanship combined with independence of mind, fearless courage and frankness of utterance is our most urgent need.

We offer our cordial sympathy to the members of his family in their great bereavement.

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Adhar Chandra Mukherjee Lecturer

Pandit Vidhusekhar Sastri has been appointed Adharchandra Mukherjee Lecturer for 1932 on the usual terms and conditions.

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Girischandra Ghosh Lecturer

Srijut Hirendranath Datta, M.A., B.L., has been appointed Girischandra Ghosh Lecturer for 1931 on the usual condition, the subject of his lectures being "Place of Girischandra Ghosh in Modern Bengali Stage and Drama."

* * *

Doctor of Philosophy

Mr. Satkari Mukhopadhyay, M.A., has been admitted to the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy on the thesis submitted by him on "The Buddhist Philosophy of Universal Flux" consisting of two parts, *viz.*, (1) Metaphysics and (2) Logic and Epistemology.

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Mr. Surendrakisor Chakrabarti, M.A., has been admitted to the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy on the thesis submitted by him on "A Study of Ancient Indian Numismatics."

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PREMCHAND ROYCHAND STUDENTSHIP

Mr. Gopinath Bhattacharyya, M.A., has been awarded the Premchand Roychand Studentship in Arts for the year 1931.

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We are glad to publish the following communications, which will surely be of great interest to our readers, received from the Honorary Secretary of the India Institute of the Deutsche Akademie of Munich, Dr. Franz Thierfelder.

Die Deutsche Akademie Honors Drs. Tagore and Raman.

Under the presidency of Geheimer Rat Prof. Dr. Friedrich von Müller of the University of Munich, one of the foremost medical men of the world, the Deutsche Akademie held its annual sessions in Munich during October 13-15. Cultural leaders from Germany and Austria and many public men of great importance —His Highness the Crown Prince of Bavaria, a special representative of the Central Government of Germany, the Bavarian Minister of Education, the Mayor of the City of Munich and others—attended the sessions.

It may be of interest to the Indian public and cultural leaders that the report of India Institute of the Deutsche Akademie, read by its Honorary Secretary, Dr. Franz Thierfelder, received unanimous support from the Senators of the Deutsche Akademie, representing various German Universities and leaders of various walks of life. Prof. Dr. A. O. Meyer, the Chairman of the "Wissenschaftliche Abteilung," called upon Dr. Taraknath Das, one of the Honorary Members of the Deutsche Akademie to speak

on the significance of Indo-German Cultural Co-operation. Dr. Das very briefly expressed his views and thanked the Deutsche Akademie, the authorities of the German Universities and the German public for the practical aid extended to the Indian people in building up their national efficiency. He begged that the work of the Deutsche Akademie in aiding worthy Indian scholars should receive continued support.

The Senate of the Deutsche Akademie unanimously elected Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, the Founder-President of Viswa Bharati and Prof. of Bengalee of Calcutta University, and Sir Prof. Dr. C. V. Raman of Calcutta University as Honorary Corresponding Members. Year before last, the same honor was bestowed upon Sir Prof. Dr. Jagadis Chandra Bose of Calcutta. We may say that the signal honor extended to these great men of India by the Deutsche Akademie is not only a genuine expression of recognition accorded to them, but living symbol of cultural amity between the peoples of India and Germany.

The India Institute of the Deutsche Akademie has arranged a course of lectures on Indian Culture to be held during the coming semester. Among others will speak: Professor Dr. Geiger, Univ. of Munich, Prof. Dr. Oertel, Univ. of Munich, Prof. Dr. Haushofer, Univ. of Munich, Dr. Taraknath Das, Prof. Dr. Wüst, Univ. of Munich, Prof. Dr. Hauer, Univ. of Tübingen, Prof. Dr. Scherman, Univ. of Munich.

Through the kindness and co-operation of the Indian Press and Indian educators, activities of India Institute of the Deutsche Akademie, which are absolutely non-political are fairly known to the Indian public. However it has been decided that a concise as well as comprehensive report of the work done by this cultural organization, during the last few years, will be printed in English for circulation among the cultural leaders of India who may be interested in co-operating with us, to make our work more effective. Those who wish to receive the forthcoming report should write to us in advance. We welcome active support and co-operation of Indian cultural leaders in furthering our work.

India Institute of Die Deutsche Akademie Announces the Award of New Scholarships to Indian Graduate Students in German Universities for the Academic Year 1932-1933.

I

With great pleasure, India Institute of Die Deutsche Akademie wishes to announce the award of Four new scholarships for the academic year 1932-1933 to the following Indian graduates who are to carry on higher studies in various German Universities :

Breslau University.

1. Mr. S. K. Saksena, M.A. (Philosophy), Allahabad University, at present teaching in Hindu College, Delhi.

Dresden Engineering University.

2. Mr. A. K. Ghose, M.Sc. (Chemistry), Lucknow University ; at present carrying on research work in connection with Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works.

Hohenheim Agricultural University.

3. Mr. Hira Singh, B.Sc. (Agriculture), M.Sc., Royal Institute of Science, Bombay.

Nürnberg, Commercial University.

4. Mr. Balmukund Piplani, B.Sc. (Commerce), Hailey College of Commerce, M.A. (Economics), Punjab University.

II

We are pleased to announce that the following three former scholars of India Institute of Die Deutsche Akademie have been awarded special scholarships of "Humboldt-Stiftung" for the academic year 1932-1933 :

Cologne University.

1. Mr. N. K. Gharpure, M.A., LL.B., formerly Lecturer in German Language in the Fergusson College and New English School, Poona.

Stuttgart Engineering University.

2. Mr. Jitendra Nath Mukherjee, Chemical Engineer, (College of Engineering and Technology of Bengal), Jadavpur.

Jena University.

3. Mr. D. G. Londhe, M.A., formerly Lecturer in Philosophy Raja Ram College, Kolapur; and Research Fellow, Indian Institute of Philosophy, Amalner.

III

We have further pleasure to announce that among the scholars of India Institute of Die Deutsche Akademie who are now enjoying scholarships for the academic year 1931-1932, to afford further facilities and to enable them to finish their studies for Doctorate, the following will continue to receive their scholarships in a modified form for the Winter Semester for 1932 (*i.e.*, till January 1933):

Cologne University.

1. Dr. J. C. Gupta, M.B. (Calcutta), formerly House Surgeon, Carmaichael Medical College Hospital, Calcutta.

Hannover Engineering University.

2. Dr. B. S. Srikantam, D.Sc. (Dacca University).

3. Mr. R. K. N. Iyengar, B.E. (Mysore University).

4. Mr. R. K. Dutta Roy, M.Sc., formerly Research Chemist, Fuel Economy Department, Tata Iron & Steel Co., Ltd., Jamshedpur.

Karlsruhe Engineering University.

5. Mr. Karmadiswar Dutt, B.Sc. (Calcutta), and B.Sc. in Engineering (Rangoon University).

Munich University.

6. Miss Dr. Maitreyee Bose, M.B. (Calcutta), House Surgeon, Chitta Ranjan Seva Sadan Women's Hospital, Calcutta.

7. Dr. B. B. Mundhe, Veterinary Surgeon and Sanitary Inspector, Bombay.

Munich Engineering University.

8. Mr. H. K. Ogale, L.M.E., formerly Lecturer in Mechanical Engineering, Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute, Bombay.

9. Mr. Chitta Ranjan Barat, M.Sc. (Calcutta), formerly Research Scholar, Department of Applied Chemistry, College of Science and Technology, Calcutta University.

Stuttagart Engineering University.

10. Mr. Narayan Ch. Chatterjee, M.Sc., formerly Demonstrator in Physics, Benares Hindu University.

Tübingen University.

11. Mr. A. K. Bhatta, Professor of Sanskrit, Vidyalankar College, Ceylon.

IV

While welcoming Indian scholars to German institutions of higher learning, we wish to emphasise the fact that it is very desirable that they finish their education in their respective fields, before leaving India and come to Germany for higher studies only. This will be economical and advantageous for them.

Indian students desirous of carrying on higher studies in Germany, before leaving India, should acquire *sufficient knowledge of German* so that they will be able to follow the lectures of Professors in German language. We have noticed that in many cases Indian students, owing to lack of German language lose a semester. It is desirable that Indian students should come to Germany, at least two or three months before the beginning of a semester (which begins in October and May), so that they will be able to make an intensive study of German language and adjust themselves to their new environments. Climate of Germany is much colder than that of India and we think that it would be wise for Indian students to come for Germany in August or September, so that they will not find the climate very trying and gradually accustom themselves to the rigors of winter weather.

Owing to ignorance about German educational institutions and educational systems, Indian students often insist on staying in big German cities such as Berlin, Munich, etc. We strongly advise Indian students to go to universities and technical institutions located in small towns in Germany, where they will find life more congenial and living less expensive. There are world renowned universities—Heidelberg, Jena, Goettingen, Freiburg, Tübingen, Marburg, Bonn and others which are located in beautiful small towns. Some of these universities have the most renowned German scholars as professors.

Those who wish to carry on higher studies and special research, should in advance make arrangements for it. They must not expect that they will at once get an opportunity to work under the most famous German professors who are extremely busy and who have a very large waiting list of exceptionally able *young scholars from many countries.* These renowned professors *cannot afford to take an ordinary graduate student who does not* understand German in his *laboratory as a research worker.* India should send her very best scholars to Germany who will be able to make the best use of the facilities in Universities and

nstitutions of higher learning in Germany and thus become credit to Germany and India.

We receive many applications from Indian students for free tuition, scholarships, loan and paying work, etc. We wish to make it clear, that India Institute of Die Deutsche Akademie does not extend any financial help except our announced scholarships. In Germany there is no possibility of part-time work for foreign students who may receive opportunities for practical experience in factories, provided they know German language and definite arrangements are made in advance.

Those who wish to secure Doctorate from a German University, must realise that there is no short cut for receiving such recognition. It will require knowledge of German language and one must finish required studies and pass necessary examinations and produce a thesis on certain subject to be approved by his professors. It may be safe to suggest, that *Indian graduates of exceptional ability may finish their work after four semesters or two years and others will require four yeas or longer according to their ability.* We wish to emphasise again that it will be less expensive for Indian students if they finish their studies in India, before leaving for Germany for higher studies.

We shall be pleased to supply information to serious Indian scholars who may communicate with us.

July 6th, 1932.